Huddersfield Local History Society

Huddersfield Local History Society
huddersfieldhistory.org.uk

Journal No. 31
2020/2021

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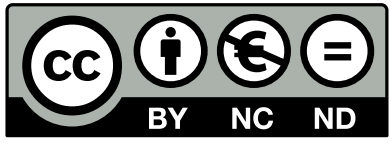

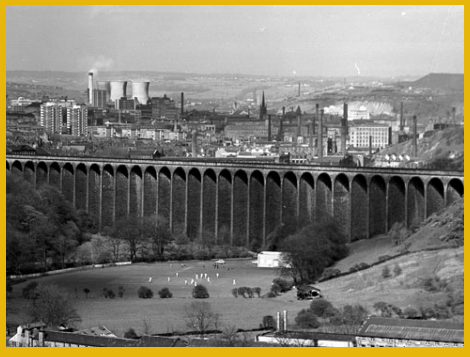

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Journal

2020 / 2021

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HUDDERSFIELD LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY was formed in 1977. It was established to create a means by which peoples of all levels of experience could share their common interests in the history of Huddersfield and district. We recognise that Huddersfield enjoys a rich heritage. It is the home town of prime ministers and Hollywood stars; the birthplace of Rugby League and famous Olympic athletes; it has more buildings than Bath listed for historical or architectural interest; it had the first municipal trams and some of the first council housing; its radical heritage includes the Luddites, suffragettes, pacifists and other campaigners for change.

MEMBERSHIP of the Society runs from 1 September until 31 August and the present subscriptions per year are:

Individual membership £10

Double membership £15

Group membership £15

Double membership consists of two named persons using a single address and receiving one copy of the Society's Journal. Cheques should be made payable to Huddersfield Local History Society and sent to the Membership Secretary (address inside back cover) or submitted at a Society meeting. Payment by annual Standing Order is encouraged and a form may be downloaded from our website, which also allows online payment.

MEETINGS: Under normal circumstances, the Society organises a full programme of meetings each year. Please check our website for updates on when these will return. Our Monday evening meetings commence at 7.30pm. Visitors are welcome at a charge of £2 per meeting.

PUBLICATIONS: The *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal* is produced on an annual basis, free to members and at a cost of £4.00 to non-members. In addition, the Society publishes books which are listed separately in this Journal, together with details of prices and how they may be purchased.

WEBSITE: www.huddersfieldhistory.org.uk

Front and Back Cover Photos © Andy Hemingway (Castle Hill at Sunset, Buckstones and Pule Hill); © Dave Pattern (Cloth Hall Tower and Ravensknowle Park with Tolson Museum); © Kirklees Image Archive. Undated view of Birkby (possibly 1870s) by Joseph Wood. Courtesy of Brian Jury.

HUDDERSFIELD LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

JOURNAL

2020/21 **Issue 31**

Huddersfield Postcard produced by Bamforth & Co. Ltd of Holmfirth, c.1952.
Scan courtesy of Huddersfield Exposed

Would you like to submit an article for inclusion in the Journal?

The Society welcomes photographs, letters, original articles, diary extracts, and other research items, ideally no longer than 3,000 words on any aspects of local history.

Please send items for publication to the editor at: editor@huddersfieldhistory.org.uk. The deadline for submission of copy for the 2020/21 Journal, Issue 32, will be Monday, 1 March 2021.

A style guide is available for members wishing to produce articles and the Society offers help for those less confident in using a computer. The style guide can be found on the Society's website www.huddersfieldhistory.org.uk.

Huddersfield Local History Journal

Published by Huddersfield Local History Society

www.huddersfieldhistory.org.uk

Printed by Charlesworth Press

Flanshaw Way, Wakefield WF2 9LP, UK

www.charlesworth.com

ISSN 2049-8403

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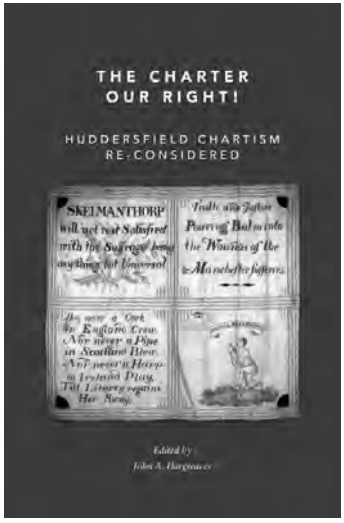
Contents

Chair's Letter: Notes from Isolation 1
Cyril Pearce
Editorial: Your Journal, Your History 2
Robert Piggott
News 4
Partnership Pages 6
Discover Huddersfield
Kirklees Heritage Forum
Edward Law History Prize
Articles
Huddersfield and the Peterloo Massacre 9
Janette Martin
'Defeat at His Own Hand': Joseph Woodhead and the 1893 Huddersfield Bye-Election 15
David Green
From the Army Drill onto the Factory Shift: History of the Sufi-Muslims in Dewsbury 21
Waseem Riaz
Linthwaite's Suffragist 29
Liz Quinn
Learning from Oral History: Growing up in a Working-Class Community 32
Michael George
Joshua Hobson and the *Leeds Mercury* 37
John Halstead
Nathan Haigh 40
Heather Wheeler
Changing Farm Communities in the Huddersfield Environs 1900-2018 48
Don Jones and Jo Stanley
Book Notices and Book Reviews 60
Obituaries and Death Notices 72

RECENT HLHS PUBLICATIONS

As well as our annual Journal, the Society has a range of books in print. Two of these recent publications are below. Information on others can be found at the end of this issue.



The Charter Our Right! Huddersfield Chartism Re-Considered,

edited by John A. Hargreaves

(ISBN 9780992984106)

£9.95 plus postage and packing

Making Up for Lost Time: The Pioneering Years of Huddersfield Corporation,

edited by David Griffiths

(ISBN 9780992984113)

£8.95 plus postage and packing

LETTER FROM THE CHAIR: NOTES FROM ISOLATION

Our 2020 Journal appears at a strange and difficult time for all of us. It's a time when it is difficult to guess at, let alone predict, the details of a future after Covid-19. For now we have to accept that what is an important part of the campaign against the virus – social distancing and the prohibition of public gatherings – makes it impossible for Huddersfield Local History Society to function as it always has done. That is why we felt we had to cancel our March meeting and then the rest of the 2019-2020 programme. We are currently uncertain just when we will be able to resume 'normal service'. We have a programme of speakers for 2020-2021 but no clear view about whether we will be able to re-start our meetings. Should the policy on public gatherings remain in place beyond the summer we are considering other ways of bringing our speakers' talks to you and will try to keep you informed as the situation develops. Please keep an eye on our website and the local press for any news.

Fortunately the Journal has not fallen victim to the current crisis. Digital technology, the internet, our printers and Rob, our editor working in isolation, have helped us defy the virus. We are hugely grateful to all of them and to the contributors whose work has made this yet another celebration of the quality of work on the local history of Huddersfield and district – Dewsbury too. It is, yet again, an excellent read.

On behalf of my committee colleagues I would like to send you our very best wishes. Take care, stay well and we'll see you all as soon as we can.

Cyril Pearce
Chair, Huddersfield Local History Society

Editorial: Your Journal, Your History

Dear Reader,

Welcome to this year's edition of the Journal of the Huddersfield Local History Society. Indeed, although the Society had produced a regular newsletter including members' research since 1983, this is the 30th anniversary of the journal format, which was first published in 1990. Whichever way you look at it, this is a remarkable achievement and I hail the efforts of all the past editors and contributors for the time and energy taken to uncover Huddersfield's past. On this note, you will find the concluding part of Don Jones and Jo Stanley's two part article on the history of the farms and farmers at the end of the articles section, following on from their fascinating piece in last year's Journal. As some may remember, Don was the first editor of the newsletter, and it is great to be able to provide such continuity in these pages. However, whilst the anniversary of the journal is something of which the society should be rightly proud, it feels a less auspicious occasion than it might have been, given the present circumstances. You will already have seen the letter from Cyril on a preceding page and I'm sure I'm not alone in eagerly awaiting the resumption of the events programme, and a return to normality in whatever form that may now take.

One of the themes of the present edition of the Journal is undoubtedly democracy. As you may be aware, last year marked the bicentenary of the Peterloo Massacre, a bloody repression of those who dared to campaign for the rights to choose our leaders at the ballot box, and a voice in parliament. Janette Martin's article kicks off proceedings here and draws on her work as curator for the exhibition, *Manchester's Fight for Freedom*, at The John Rylands Library. As she shows, the shocking events of Peterloo led to local protests in solidarity, thus further cementing radical sentiment in the area. It also worried the magistrates in Huddersfield, some of whom had previously prosecuted the Luddites. On this note, Alan Brooke has contributed a scintillating review of three novels imagining the Luddites and featured in our back pages. Also in these pages is sadly included the obituary for Professor Malcolm Chase, who did so much to further the study of Chartism and radicalism in general, was a friend of the Society, and indeed gave the Luddite Lecture in 2015. He will be sorely missed.

The theme of democracy continues in several other articles contained in this issue. John Halstead has contributed further research on the Chartist Joshua Hobson's journalistic career, expanding on his chapter in the book, *The Charter Our Right!*, published by the society. The role of newspapers and the media in general is of course key to a properly functioning democracy and Hobson was, for much of his later life, editor of the *Huddersfield Chronicle*. David Green's contribution to this year's Journal looks at the role of Huddersfild's newspapers in the bye-election of 1893, and the war of words

entered into by the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner*. In doing so he cogently explains why the election ended with the anomaly of a Conservative briefly holding the Huddersfield constituency.

As we know, the campaign for democracy did not end with the Chartists, or even with the Second Reform Act, and Liz Quinn's article here looks at Linthwaite's suffrage campaigner, Florence Lockwood. Lockwood's house appears to have become a local hub in the campaign for votes for women, and her work was recently celebrated as part of International Women's Day. Beyond democracy there is much else here of interest and the pages are packed full of the history of the area. In fact, we have even slipped free of the bonds of the immediate vicinity of Huddersfield, and ventured out to Dewsbury in Waseem Riaz and Michael George's articles. Having previously contributed to the journal recounting the history of the Muslim community in Heckmondwike, Waseem returns to narrate the history of the Sufi-Muslims at Dewsbury Moor. Michael, on the other hand, shares with us the fruit of an oral history project and concentrates on the life of just one person.

As Michael shows, oral history is invaluable in opening up the life stories which might otherwise not be recorded. This again is another theme of these pages, and of the Journal in general through the years. It is echoed also in the article by Heather Wheeler, which details the life of her grandfather Nathan Haigh. Haigh's life was in most ways ordinary. However, it was also emblematic of the ways of non-conformity in the late-Victorian and Edwardian period, composed as it was of chapel choir and Bible classes, and a testament to the beneficial effect that adult education can have on a life to boot.

The back cover shows an image taken by Joseph Wood, a self-taught optician and a keen photographer, supplied by Brian Jury. I am reliably informed that, with John Hirst of Dobcross, Wood developed a "Natural Stereoscope" in 1862. This was an ornately-fashioned device for viewing stereoscopic 3D photographs and it is believed that only 23 were made. Brian is would like to trace the date of the photo, so if you can help, please let us know.

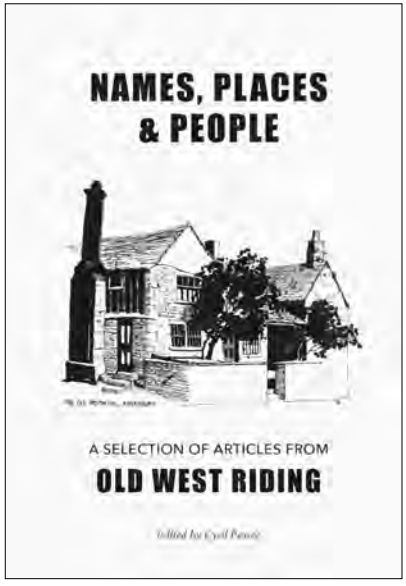
I hope you enjoy the present issue, and I hope also you will think about contributing a piece for next year's edition. After all, the Journal exists to publish the research of members of the society, and it can only continue with member's contributions. Whilst the present circumstances make visiting the archive, or even conducting oral history research an impossibility, for those with an internet connection, it has never been easier to explore the past online. Beyond newspaper archives, and genealogy records, the fabulous *Huddersfield Exposed* website currently contains masses of source material freely at your disposal. So happy researching, and we hope to hear from you soon.

Stay safe!

Robert Piggott
Journal Editor

NEW FROM HUDDERSFIELD LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

Old West Riding published 23 editions from 1981 to 1995. It was a joint venture by three local historians – Jennifer Stead, George Redmonds and Cyril Pearce. This collection of over a dozen articles is dedicated to George Redmonds, who died in August 2018.



The editors were committed to creating a magazine in which professional and amateur historians could see their work published free of the constraints of more academic journals. There were no specific requirements about length or subject matter - as long as the item touched on some aspect of the history of the West Riding. Contributions came from all manner of people. George Redmonds' WEA classes were a particularly rich source.

For some contributors Old West Riding was the beginning of a career in local history and some of their articles achieved almost 'classic' status.

This collection reflects how Old West Riding contributed to our understanding of the history of this part of Yorkshire and to the emergence of talents which might otherwise have been overlooked. The articles have been chosen for their Huddersfield connections but are of wider interest too. They are grouped around six themes:

- Language and local topography
- Local customs
- The textile industry
- Historic houses
- 'Going to America'
- Early Modern morality

At £6.95 for 160 pages (plus £1.75 p & p), it can be purchased:

On-line at www.huddersfieldhistory.org.uk/publications

By post from HLHS, 24 Sunnybank Rd, Huddersfield HD3 3DE

Or at selected retail outlets

THIS YEAR'S CENTENARY – 'THE TOWN THAT BOUGHT ITSELF'

Huddersfield Corporation completed the purchase of the 4,300-plus acres of the Ramsden estate on 29 September 2020. The Society has worked with a wide partnership to mark the centenary, including several Kirklees Council services, West Yorkshire Archive Service, the University, Lawrence Batley Theatre and Huddersfield Exposed. Not all plans are finalised, not least because of Covid-19, but before planning was interupted they included at least:

- Publication with a launch on 10 September (save the date!) of *Power in the Land: the Ramsdens in Huddersfield, 1542-1920*, edited for the Society by Professor Edward Royle and to be published by the University Press. We have negotiated a substantial concession on the cover price for HLHS members – for details see the flyer enclosed with this Journal.

- Our first meeting of next season, when we hope Professor Royle will give a lecture based on new research for the book, undertaken by him and committee member Dr Stephen Caunce.

- A Discover Huddersfield walk on Sunday 27 September – starting with a look at the commemorative plaque about the 1920 purchase in the Town Hall and then following the Ramsden Heritage Trail.

- An exhibition on the Ramsdens in Huddersfield, created by University history students and WY Archive Service, which will tour to a range of venues.

- A drama programme with schools, organised by the Council's Democracy Service.

Other possible projects, dependent on funding (and, now, the virus!), include a community play at the LBT and a refresh of the 'Ramsden Town' gallery at the Tolson Museum.

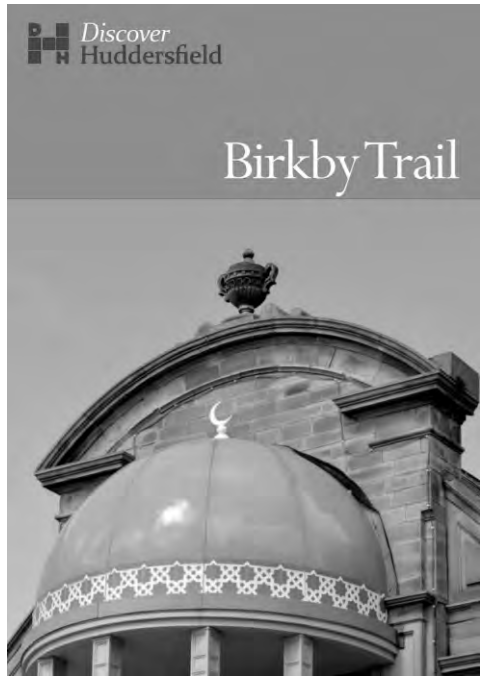
A dedicated website has been set up, https://huddersfield2020.org.uk, where updates will be posted. Available there, and on our own website, is Clifford Stephenson's 1972 booklet, T*he Ramsdens and Their Estate in Huddersfield: The Town that Bought Itself* – though with more evidence now to hand, the research mentioned above will challenge some aspects of his account of events.

David Griffiths

PARTNERSHIP PAGES

Discover Huddersfield

The Society continues its active role in the Discover Huddersfield partnership.



Discover Huddersfield runs a series of guided walks and publishes brochures for self-guided trails.

We had a successful 2019 guided walks season leading 16 walks from March to the end of October. These included new walks in Birkby (lead by Lorna Brooks and Frank Grombir), Lockwood (lead by Ian Stevenson and Dave Pattern) and a Literary walk lead by Chris Marsden (for the Literary Festival). Other walks included University, Music, Greenhead Park, Transport, Significant Buildings, Lindley, Public Art, Huddersfield Architecture, Building Stones, Women's Suffrage, Radical & Caribbean Heritages. And on the hottest day of the year we looked at Hidden Highfields!

Our series of 17 self-guided trails enable you to take walks at your own pace. These include new trails for Birkby and Almondbury. The trails are widely available across town or can also be downloaded from our Discover Huddersfield website http://www.discoverhuddersfield.com/trails/

We are always looking for additional helpers on the guided walks. Our support staff welcome the walkers, collect monies and ensure everyone keeps together safely. If you would like to have a chat about joining us, please email our support staff co-ordinator **Maureen Mitchell** at discoverhuddersfield@gmail.com.

Kirklees Heritage Forum

Kirklees Heritage Forum is an informal body which lists what has been written about the minority ethnic and religious groups which have resided or settled in Kirklees and which aims to encourage further research and writing about their histories. An audit of what has been done so far can be found on the Migrations page on the Society's website, www.huddersfieldhistory.org.uk.

Huddersfield Local History Society continues to encourage the objectives of the Forum. The audit cited above draws attention to recent contributions on this subject. Some of these come in the form of talks, for example in November 2019 at the Huddersfield Library Lunchtime Club, Michael Draper gave a talk on the history of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Community, 1948-2018. The Windrush generation's anxieties about its future have been the subject of several articles and the memories of the Windrush generation have been recorded in an outstanding film, 'Windrush: The Years After', which we hope members of the society will have the opportunity to see later this year. The 70th anniversary of the partition of India was commemorated at the CHOL Theatre in August 2019. Several articles have recalled the consequences of that event, and the White Line Heritage Project is following this up. A fascinating documentary produced by Mandeep Samra entitled 'A New Life in Huddersfield – Memories of Partition and Migration' [2018] may be found on line.

The Sikh community has been in the news, with the celebration in November of its founder's 550th birthday, followed later in the month by the unveiling of a statue of a Huddersfield Sikh soldier in Greenhead Park. The presence of a Syrian community in this area was the subject of a BBC Countryfile programme which described the activities of Dr Ryad Alsous, a Syrian refugee who had set up a bee-keeping project and had encouraged refugees to become involved. A less fortunate indication of a local Syrian community was the case of bullying in a local secondary school – but a remarkable feature of this sad event was the size of the fund raised to assist the family concerned.

Brief references are also noted to other minority ethnic and religious groups which have settled in this area. The Kurdish community is now quite numerous – the presence is marked by the opening of several Kurdish barbers. The University has enrolled large numbers of students from around the world – one of the largest groups being Chinese. And other nationalities now have a small representation, for example there is a recently-established Indonesian community.

An institution which should not go unmentioned is the Holocaust Exhibition and Learning Centre, developed by the University of Huddersfield. This is to be found in the Schwann Building adjacent to Heritage Quay. The Centre, admission to which is free, displays some remarkable and moving items relating to the Holocaust. For opening hours and schedule of future events go to: http://holocaustlearning.org/about-helc

These additions to the record are very encouraging. However, there is still much to be done to identify and preserve the records of the various groups which have made their homes in this area. Many of the first arrivals have now passed away; and their memories and their records are being lost. Now it is time to look at the achievements of their descendants.

Anyone interested in supporting the objectives of the Forum please contact Bill Roberts at bill@roberts04.plus.com.

Bill Roberts

EDWARD LAW HISTORY PRIZE

The Edward Law History Prize was set up in 2017 by Huddersfield Local History Society in recognition of our member and prolific local historian, Edward Law, who died in 2013.

Edward Law (1945-2013)

The Society is convinced there is a great talent and enthusiasm for the history of the place and its people. This modest competition, open to all ages, and in partnership with the University of Huddersfield, West Yorkshire Branch of the Historical Association, Huddersfield Exposed and Kirklees Libraries, is about tapping into that talent, recognising it and sharing it more widely.

If you would like to enter the 2021 competition, please forward your expression of interest to the Society's publicity officer at: info@huddersfieldhistory.org.uk. The closing date for entries is Sunday, 31 January 2021.

The competition is open to anyone who has not previously published any historical research. There are two categories with the long-essay prize for submissions of 2,500 to 3000 words having the chance to win £150, and the short-essay prize for submissions of 500-800 words eligible for £50 reward.

Please spread the word about this initiative and keep an eye on the Society's website and other publicity material for more details.

HUDDERSFIELD LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

We are: Kirklees Libraries.

University of HUDDERSFIELD Inspiring tomorrow's professionals

Huddersfield Exposed

The Historical Association The voice for history

HUDDERSFIELD AND THE PETERLOO MASSACRE

Janette Martin

Last August marked the 200th anniversary of one of the most controversial episodes in Manchester's history – Peterloo. This article will consider the impact of the Peterloo Massacre on this side of the Pennines and will argue that Peterloo played a pivotal role in shaping popular radical culture in Huddersfield and the surrounding localities. But first a recap of what became known in popular memory as the Peterloo Massacre.

A View of St Peter's Place by John Slack. Ref. R52983.2. By permission of The University of Manchester Library

On 16 August 1819, the military violently dispersed a peaceful parliamentary reform meeting addressed by the radical politician Henry Hunt. The people had met at St Peter's Field, an undeveloped piece of land near the centre of Manchester, to listen to the charismatic, radical politician Henry Hunt (1773-1835). Hunt was to explain how parliamentary reform and repealing the much-hated Corn Laws (which kept the cost of bread artificially high) would improve their lives. The reformers wanted universal male suffrage to ensure their interests were represented at Parliament. A few minutes into the meeting the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry, as instructed by the magistrates present, rode into the crowds brutally cutting a path towards the hustings where they arrested Henry Hunt and other speakers. That afternoon at least 15 people lost their lives (others died in the days and weeks following) and up to 700 more were injured by mounted yeomanry wielding sabres or were trampled underfoot by the panicking crowd. The full number of casualties and deaths will never be known, as many had to hide wounds from employers to keep their jobs.

Some more context on why it happened will be helpful. Industrialisation had generated prosperity for the northern textile areas, yet these riches were not shared out and alongside great wealth sat squalor, overcrowded slums and dire poverty. Poor harvests and a weak demand for cotton in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars caused wage cuts and unemployment. Yet at the same time as wages were cut, the price of bread rose. In

1819 the franchise was minuscule with only 5 percent of the population being entitled to vote – in short - a few rich men. In this context it is easy to see why many people in the northern textile areas were restless and attracted to the promises of radicalism.

Not everyone at Peterloo was there for politics. Many came out of curiosity - attracted by the novelty. There was a party atmosphere – a hot Monday in August, families dressed in Sunday best walked miles accompanied by bands playing popular tunes. From the villages and townships that later would make up the Greater Manchester area they walked, from Stockport, Bury, Middleton, Rochdale, Stalybridge and even Saddleworth over the Yorkshire border. The historian Michael Bush, who carefully studied the various injuries lists says that at least one person present that day was from Huddersfield. This accords with a contemporary account which lists a woman called Rebecca Johnson of Longroyd Bridge near Huddersfield who was 'knocked down, and trampled upon by the Cavalry'.[1] It seems unlikely (but not impossible) Rebecca walked there that morning – it is more plausible she was in Manchester that day for other reasons.

While it is hard to find anything to justify the behaviour of the magistrates and civil and military powers that day – we have to remember that it was only twenty or so years since the French Revolution and the authorities were scared of large crowds and the potential of mob rule. Their fears were stoked by the appearance of red caps of liberty in the processions filing into St Peter's Fields – to the radicals these were symbols of reform but to the authorities nothing less than "the insignia of treason". We know from Magistrates Statements held at The John Rylands Library that the authorities painstakingly recorded the motifs and wording on the banners carried at Peterloo as evidence of revolutionary intent. That they arrived accompanied by 'military music' and marching in procession was also deemed seditious.[2] Significantly, those with the most grievous injuries tended to be those carrying something that enraged the loyalists. Red caps of liberty, banners and standards were seized as battle trophies.

In the battle for public opinion which followed the massacre these details were important. Argument and counter argument raged between the Loyalists and Reformers. Undoubtedly the Reformers' biggest coup was getting the nickname 'Peterloo' to stick. Within days the event was dubbed 'Peterloo' in mocking reference to the heroic battle of Waterloo some 4 years earlier. Worse still for the authorities, one of those cut down and killed by the Manchester Yeomanry was a Waterloo veteran.

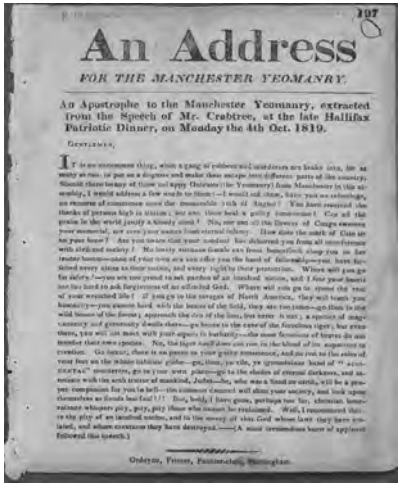
As news of the massacre rippled outwards the indignation grew. In the days and weeks following the massacre radicals in Huddersfield held meetings in a show of solidarity – some wore black mourning. Magistrates in Huddersfield were fearful of disturbances and carefully monitored radical meetings. A letter sent on 20 August 1819, signed by

1 James Wroe, *Peterloo Massacre, Containing a Faithful Narrative of the Events which preceded, accompanied and followed the fatal sixteenth of August* ... Manchester (1819) p. 207. Intriguingly Longroyd Bridge was the locus of Luddite activity some 7 years earlier.

2 Statements Concerning the Peterloo Riots of 1819. John Rylands Library, Ref. TW/366-367

J. Haigh, B. Haigh Allen and John Horsfall, reported on an assembly of around three thousand working men. At this meeting '*a person from Manchester* related to them what had taken place there, and concluded by telling them that now was the time to be revenged'. When another speaker asked who was willing 'to support the cause of radical reform by force, physical force' his question was answered by a 'tremendous shout from the multitude'.[3] After hearing these sentiments the Huddersfield authorities put a troop of yeomanry cavalry on permanent duty for three days and swore in a number of special constables. Given that the Huddersfield Luddite disturbances only 7 years before had ended in the murder of a local manufacturer, it is not surprising that the authorities were so frightened by talk of physical force.

The following March, as witnesses travelled to give evidence against Henry Hunt at the York Assizes, they were hissed as they passed through Huddersfield. As the work of Malcolm Chase shows, the year 1820 was marked by extremely cold weather, food shortages and acute suffering. Alongside physical hardships political discontent festered and rumours circulated of planned uprisings across the industrial areas of the West Riding. On the 11 April 1820, 300 men from Barnsley marched to Grange Moor expecting to meet with a large Huddersfield contingent. The promised Huddersfield contingent did not show and the planned uprising crumbled. It can be no coincidence that these political disturbances peaked around the time of the Peterloo verdict, when Hunt and the other leaders were found guilty and jailed while the magistrates and yeomanry were cleared. Anger at Peterloo remained strong. Three years later, when Henry Hunt was released from prison in November 1822 the occasion was marked in Huddersfield with a bonfire, dinner and a procession. [4]



An Address

FOR THE MANCHESTER YEOMANRY.

An Apostrophe to the Manchester Yeomanry, extracted from the Speech of Mr. Crabtree, at the late Halifax Patriotic Dinner, on Monday the 4th Oct. 1819.

An Address for the Manchester Yeomanry Ref. R159964. By permission of The University of Manchester Library.

Until it was shut down in 1822, the pages of the *Manchester Observer* doggedly campaigned for justice for the victims and their families. Its influence stretched across the key cities and towns of northern England including Huddersfield, Halifax, Leeds and Bradford. Not only did the *Manchester Observer* studiously campaign for justice for the Manchester sufferers, it also carefully reported radical activity elsewhere in the country and it is from its pages we have the most fabulous account of a vast outdoor meeting held in Skircoat Moor, Halifax on 4 October 1819 in protest at the massacre (inciden-

3 John Edward Taylor, *Notes and observations, critical and explanatory, on the papers relative to the internal state of the country,* 1820. https://archive.org/details/notesobservation00tayl/page/178

4 Hilary Haigh, *Huddersfield: a most handsome town*, 1992, p. 206; M. Chase, *1820*, pp. 122-124.

tally the very place where the Chartists would hold mass meetings some twenty or so years later).[5] Contingents from hamlets, villages and townships across the Huddersfield and Halifax areas were present at the meeting**.** Each group had their own banner and many also carried red caps of liberty. The *Observer* reporter counted 74 flags and 16 red caps. The rain was torrential that afternoon and, despite the inclement weather, the *Observer* journalist asked those present to unfurl their banners and carefully took down their inscriptions. These are wonderfully evocative. Take for example the Lindley banner which reads:

With heartfelt grief we mourn for those
Who fell as Martyrs in our cause
While we with execration view
The bloody Fiends of Peterloo

Very few flags from the Peterloo era have survived which makes newspaper accounts so valuable. The detailed report also demonstrates just how strong the sense of outrage was this side of the Pennines and how working people in Huddersfield identified with the struggles experienced by ordinary folk in Lancashire. The historian Katrina Navickas has written persuasively of how Peterloo was significant in galvanising a sense of regional and northern identity across the textile areas.

In the evening of 4 October 1819, after the rally had finished, a radical dinner for around 300 people was held in Halifax (sadly there is no record of where it took place). At this event a long speech was given by a Mr Crabtree. This was reported near verbatim in the *Observer* – a total of 2 and a half columns of close type – a section of which was reproduced and printed as a leaflet. The language is verbose and flowery but the sentiment damning. Addressing the Manchester Yeomanry personally, he asks whether their conscience is troubling them – despite receiving the thanks of persons 'high in station' (a veiled reference to the Home Secretary and Prince Regent whose praise for the Manchester authorities was well publicised).

Lockwood---large flag——*motto*, "From long Parliaments, from Placemen and unmerited Pensions; from bribery and corruption; from all prostitution of conscience; from tyranny and oppression—Good Lord deliver us."
Stansfield---flag----Figure of Justice; *motto*, "Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Election by Ballot."
Brighouse----Cap of Liberty--- -flag-----*motto*, "Truth is fallen into the streets, equity cannot enter;" *reverse*, "Buy the truth and sell it not." Banner, "Unite and be free."
North Ouram---flag---*motto*, "The voice of thy Brother's blood cryeth unto me from the ground;" *reverse*, "He that sheddeth Man's blood, by Man shall his blood be shed."
Huddersfield---large flag, surmounted by a Cap of Liberty---*motto*, "Universal, civil and religious Liberty;" *reverse*, "Cursed be he that sheddeth innocent blood." Large Bundle of Sticks, *motto*, "Unity." Large bough of the weeping willow, interspersed with black crape. Black flag, *motto*, "Sleep no more---Manchester hath Murdered sleep."

Extract from the *Manchester Observer*, 9 October 1819

Peterloo's impact on Yorkshire radical culture was pronounced – besides printed descriptions of solidarity there are some striking examples of material culture from this part of the country. Many of you will

5 *Manchester Observer*, 9 Oct. 1819

The Skelmanthorpe Flag. By kind permission of Kirklees Museums and Galleries

be familiar with the Skelmanthorpe Banner held at the Tolson Museum. It is believed to have been made in Radcliffe Street, Skelmanthorpe near Huddersfield in 1819. The depiction of a slave in chains, one of the symbols of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, is found in the bottom right corner. Above the slave, is a single eye symbolising God keeping watch over humankind. Coincidentally or not the 'all seeing eye' was also on the masthead of the *Manchester Observer,* a newspaper that would surely be familiar to radicals living in and around Skelmanthorpe. The Skelmanthorpe flag was paraded at mass meetings throughout the area, including a monster Chartist rally at Peep Green near Hartshead in 1837. It frequently had to be hidden from the authorities and was buried in a box in a garden and dug up again when required. It was rediscovered in a Skelmanthorpe warehouse in 1884 and given to Tolson Memorial Museum in 1924. The significance of this flag is such that the British Museum listed it in a top 100 items that tell the history of the world.

Longcase clock commemorating the Peterloo Massacre of 1819, made by W. Stancliffe, Barkisland. National Railway Museum/Science and Society Picture Library

Another one of my favourites, the so called 'Peterloo clock', was made by W. Stancliffe of Barkisland. This splendid grandfather clock deepens our understanding of the Peterloo Massacre in several ways. It is easy to think of the battle between reformers and loyalists as being divided on simple class grounds – that the protesters assembled at St Peter's Field were a dispossessed and poverty stricken mob, whipped to a frenzy by itinerant rabble rousers. This was not the case. Many well-heeled and educated people were pro-reform including wealthy industrialists who were frustrated that large cities such as Manchester had not a single MP and thus had no voice in Parliament. This is a luxury item that was well beyond the means of a working class household. It shows that support for reform cut across class lines. The 4 portraits around the clock face are of leading radicals. Henry Hunt, T. J. Wooler, William Cobbett and Major John Cartwright.

The memory of Peterloo lingered in Yorkshire and it would be evoked repeatedly in the Chartist years and beyond. As time passed being present at Peterloo became a badge of honour and something to be proud about. Hence the long-serving editor of the *Leeds Mercury*, Edward Baines was regularly praised in old age for being at St Peter's Field and for giving evidence at the trial.[6]

Note on sources

This article draws heavily upon research undertaken for an exhibition, *Manchester's Fight for Freedom,* held at The John Rylands Library, Manchester, which I curated in 2019. The most extensive Peterloo materials are held at this Library, most of which have been digitised and can be accessed at www.manchester.ac.uk/rylands/peterloo. You can also search the special collections blog for several Peterloo articles http://rylandscollections.wordpress.com/. For Huddersfield historians the most interesting of these Peterloo resources is a complete set of the *Manchester Observer* (1818-1821), a radical newspaper which includes many references to radical activity taking place in Huddersfield and surrounding villages. Each edition can be key word searched

Robert Poole, *The English Uprising* (2019). Poole is the undisputed authority on the Peterloo massacre. His book includes new evidence and interpretations

Malcolm Chase, *1820: Disorder and Stability in the United Kingdom (2013)*. Chase gives a comprehensive account of the Grange Moor rising in April 2020.

Dr Janette Martin is the Modern History Archivist and Student Engagement Manager at The John Rylands Library in Manchester. Her research interests include nineteenth and twentieth century radical politics, archives, public history and 'history from below'. She is a long-serving member of both the Society for the Study of Labour History and Huddersfield Local History Society. She tweets as @hisjlm and you can contact her on Janette.martin@manchester.ac.uk

6 Obituary, *Leeds Mercury*, Thursday, 20 March 1890

'DEFEAT AT HIS OWN HAND' JOSEPH WOODHEAD AND THE 1893 HUDDERSFIELD BYE-ELECTION.

David Green

The Parliamentary Borough of Huddersfield was created in 1832. It was a Whig/Liberal stronghold throughout the nineteenth century and in the first quarter of the twentieth century until 1923. Yet there was a moment in 1893 when the Conservative and Unionist Party won the seat, by a very narrow margin of 35. Although they controlled it for only two or so years, it is an anomaly worthy of commentary. This article reflects on that election. It was fought between two Huddersfield men, both named Joe. Perhaps it was the fact that the candidates were well known to the people of the town and each other that unleashed their long-held resentments and led to the intense bitterness of the contest between the parties, and also within the Liberal Party organisation itself. The conclusion drawn from the evidence here is that rather than a Conservative victory the bye-election was an act of self-defeat by the Liberal Party electors, the Two-Hundred. The Huddersfield Liberal Party selection committee's choice of Joseph Woodhead as their candidate, and his conduct during the election, aggravated the working-class section of their own party, making a significant contribution to his and their failure.

The bye-election of 1893 was caused by the extremely premature death that January of William Summers, a Gladstonian Liberal who had become MP for Huddersfield in 1886 and was returned in 1892. Indeed, Summers had increased his majority in the 1892 general election, on a fairly routine Gladstonian Liberal campaign stressing support for Home Rule, Temperance and the Eight Hours Bill. This latter point, and Summer's support for working-class unionisation, meant he was popular with many amongst the working men and women of the town. The working men had become very significant in elections since the 1867 Second Reform Act enfranchised about a million men in the urban areas who were homeowners or who paid annual rent of £10 for unfurnished rooms. As a consequence, in Huddersfield the electorate rose from 2,138 men in 1865 to 11,242 men and was 15,550 men by 1893. This encompassed a substantial working men's vote, particularly amongst the skilled working classes, often members of combinations, unions or societies that supported their employment status and conditions. As well as this appeal, Summers proved to be capable in both national and local political spheres, served as a junior whip in the Gladstone government from 1886 and seemed destined, according to the opposition *Huddersfield Chronicle*, to have "his name made famous had he survived." It was a reflection of the seriousness with which Summers took his responsibilities that he was in India at the time of his death, reviewing the conditions of the inhabitants of Allahabad for a Parliamentary Committee, when he died of smallpox.[1]

The challenge to replace Summers as the Liberal representative for the borough was thus, given Summers' popularity, one which was fraught with potential pitfalls, and

1 *Huddersfield Chronicle*,7 January 1893

the eventual choice by the Liberal Two-Hundred of Joseph Woodhead, proprietor of the *Examiner*, was controversial and, it is contended here, led to the defeat in the bye-election caused by Summers death. The *Labour Elector* of 28 January reported, "Even staunch (Liberal) party journals like the *London Chronicle* are crying out against the selection as certain to result in the loss of the seat." Rather than settling on Woodhead, the Liberal Chief Whip Marjoribanks had, as early as 5 January, "invited Walter Summers, the deceased MP's brother, the nomination which had been declined." Other candidates had been considered by the national party in preference to Woodhead. A spate of bye-elections in 1893, including one at Halifax, meant that the choice of alternatives was limited.

In essence, Woodhead's selection had seemed a sensible decision. He was, indeed, a powerful and influential advocate of Gladstonian Liberalism, a strict teetotaller and advocate of temperance, something which appealed to a swathe of working men in the town. Woodhead had introduced and operated the only daily paper in the town, the *Huddersfield Examiner* and thus had a mouthpiece for his campaign. He was an experienced MP, previously having sat for six years in the Spen Valley Division, a former Mayor, a member of the school board, Chairman of the Local Liberal Association, and deacon of the non-conformist Congregationalist church at Lindley. Under Woodhead and the Liberals the municipal conditions of Huddersfield had clearly improved. A veteran of numerous national and municipal election campaigns on behalf of himself and other Liberal candidates, Woodhead formed part of what amounted to a cabal of Liberal grandees. Pamela Cooksey, biographer of the Woodhead family, quotes a contemporary,

> the prize quality of the man was always the absoluteness and intensity of his convictions. To believe yourself right is the first step towards persuading others and Mr Woodhead resembles Mr Gladstone in this — that not only is he persuaded that he is right, but he is almost at a loss to understand how any man of common sense and common honesty cannot fail to agree with him.[2]

Perhaps it was because of the twin facts, that Woodhead was convinced he was correct on all points and that he owned the *Examiner*, that the campaign of 1893 rapidly became a bitter one.

Central to the rancour of the election were Huddersfield's two main newspapers, Woodhead's *Examiner* and the Unionist *Huddersfield Chronicle*. The central issue was Woodhead's lack of support for working men's rights and representation, exemplified in particular by his own employment practices in refusing to allow union representation for his typographers and his disputes with the Typographical Society. What Woodhead's candidature suggested was that the Liberal selectors of the town were quite out of touch with the feelings of many amongst the working classes, particularly with unionised labour. This was exemplified by Edward Brooke, a senior member of the

2 P. Cooksey , *Public lives: The family of Joseph Woodhead, a notable family of Huddersfield,* Huddersfield Local History Society, 1989, p. 21. The Society hopes to issue a new edition of this text as an e-book.

Two-Hundred, stating at Woodhead's selection, "I believe that while we may not be able to get a man who would suit everybody, Mr. Woodhead would represent them (the working men) on all important points." It was fairly clear from the typographers' dispute that he wouldn't.

Woodhead and the Two Hundred were paternalistic with regard to the representation of working men and objected strongly to working men standing as Liberal candidates. Liberals at central office and some in the local association had been painfully aware before the election that Woodhead was not the darling of the working classes. Objections were raised by the Trades Council, an affiliate to the Liberal Party. Allen Gee, a Textiles Union leader, councilman and a prime asset of the local party, was overlooked to accommodate Woodhead's run for parliament. The Liberal Selection Committee had been advised as early as mid-January not to elevate him to the candidature. Delegations, including the popular Gee and Owen Balmforth, warned the committee that a working man candidate should be tendered, "owing to the fact that there was considerable opposition amongst a portion of the constituency with Mr Woodhead."[3] It was not only in his dispute with the typographers that Woodhead and other Liberal notables had antagonised workers, but Robert Perks noted that long-running disagreements between the unions and the Liberal local council created cleavages in local Liberalism. Without a working man or a candidate sympathetic to workers, the warning of defeat from Gee and Balmforth would become a reality.

The issue became a focus of the election quarrels when the *Chronicle* printed a letter from a former employee of the Examiner, questioning the employment practices of the proprietor. Woodhead did not allow Typographical Society membership amongst his workforce insisting that his workers did not need to join because he kept their wages at union rates or above, and he felt this defence, based upon his belief in freedom of contract between employer and employee, was sufficient to sway any of his critics. This hope proved to be misplaced, and for good reason when a close review is made of the heated exchanges between himself and the *Chronicle* editor, Harper, in the run up to election day. The letters pages rapidly filled with the debate between Woodhead and Harper who was in support of the Conservative candidate Sir Joseph Crosland.

On 17 January Woodhead included an extensive report from the *Leeds Mercury* which supported his position and then used the correspondence section of the paper to print two letters, a short one questioning his actions as an employer, and an extensive riposte from an admirer. Favourable reports of his candidature from other Gladstonian journals were frequently printed. Noticeably absent were those reports from Liberal newspapers elsewhere which questioned the validity of Woodhead's candidature, which of course the unionist *Yorkshire Post*, and the *Chronicle* were quick to reprint.[4]

In his responses, Woodhead bragged about his workers getting more pay than the union rate, and invited Harper to review the books.[5] Harper suggested that the issue

3 R Perks, PhD Thesis, University of Huddersfield, 1995, p. 105

4 *Huddersfield Examiner,* 13 January 1893

5 *Huddersfield Examiner,* 16 January 1893

was not pay, but control. Woodhead may pay the same, but his working men did not benefit from that experience which unionisation would give them. Harper, who allowed unions in his shop, cited several examples of his own men who had gone on to represent unions regionally and nationally, all Typographical Association men, all imbued with the necessary armoury of abilities for useful citizenship and thoughtful representation of their class.[6] Woodhead's men may have got the same pay, but they were not men in their own right. "What an ignoramus he is on the subject of trades-unions... Mr. Woodhead maybe a benevolent employer and make up to his men for the loss of benefits, but even if he does this must take the benefits as charity and not as rights, and have no guarantee against their discontinuance next week".[7] Adding grist to the mill was the evidence that Woodhead had voted against the Eight Hour Bill whilst MP for the Spen Valley, the *Chronicle* remarking that "Mr. Woodhead is a poor substitute for Mr. Summers, whose attitude on Eight Hours and other matters to benefit workers stamped him as the genuine article."[8]

Meanwhile, what of his opponent. Sir Joseph Crosland, the Unionist candidate, having stood and lost Huddersfield on three previous occasions, was put on the spot at several public meetings over a number of issues relating to the welfare and rights of workers. In his defeats it seems Crosland had picked up the mood of the local electorate and was pliant enough to tailor his policies accordingly. He was for the Eight Hours Bill and made frequent reference to the issue, but was still challenged at public meetings by working men on several occasions on the issue of the 'two looms' debate.[9] As a result, he used a letter to the *Yorkshire Factory Times* of 20 January to explain his position.[10] This was astute. The paper was the vehicle through which he could access the most informed working-class enquirer, and his letter remarked on the 'two looms' issue, noting that it was not yet a practice in Huddersfield, but that Bradford and other areas were producing textiles at a 25% reduction because of the use of two looms by one weaver. Crosland's response was to bring "Bradford terms up to Huddersfield levels", a remark tantamount to supporting Bradford trades-unionism and one loom per man. As a manufacturer himself, this was a radical promise.

Indeed, Crosland's ideological flexibility was shown again at a meeting at Almondbury on 16 January. Having stated that the Irish Home Rule issue was the principle question of the moment and central to this bye-election, working men at the meeting were vocal in their disagreement, one stating that their own conditions, and those in poverty in the town, were more significant. Crosland corrected his stance for the rest of the campaign. It was the working men, a significant proportion of the Huddersfield electorate, who began to set the political agenda for the candidates to work within, and the most

6 R Perks *PhD Thesis* University of Huddersfield 1995 p107

7 *Huddersfield Chronicle,* 21 January 1893, "our men have first the feeling of common unity...in addition to which the largest and best offices in the country are open to them."

8 *Huddersfield Chronicle* 21 January 1893

9 The Two Looms debate was a localised dispute. Workers in Bradford textiles manufactories were being required to work two looms simultaneously.

10 *Yorkshire Factory Times* 20 January 1893

pragmatic, Crosland, was quick to adapt. As the *Labour Elector* of 28 January advised voters, "if the candidate is sympathetic to the views of labour then he should be voted for," and they supported Crosland through the rest of the campaign.

As well as tuning into the rhythms of the electorate, the other challenge for the Victorian politician was getting out the vote. With small electorates and close races, turnout was key to a victorious campaign. In the post-1867 period the employment of party agents became essential and many of the key political battles took place at the electoral registration courts well before election day. It is transparent from some of the evidence of 1893 that the parties in Huddersfield had improved their organisational ability. As Readman argues, the adoption of professional agents had become an essential pre-requisite for party success, and parties were painfully aware, especially in a marginal seat like Huddersfield, that 'bringing out the vote' could be more essential than the policies adopted.[11] To this effect, the *Batley News*, of 10 February, another Gladstonian newspaper, reported the amusing tale of a drunken Unionist workman travelling home to Heckmondwike following a day assisting Crosland by picking up voters in his cart. There isn't the space for details of the story, but the carter's tale reflected the effort Crosland went to in order to encourage voter turnout. This stretched far further than one woozy man and a cart. The *Yorkshire Post* of 6 February reported horseback messengers sent out into the borough to prompt voters to the polls, or even in some cases to carry them there. The paper comments, "in such a close election, no pain could have been spared on either side to search for electors."[12] The Liberals were also keenly organised, though with less equestrian assistance. The *Examiner* placed reminders to those who had moved house to ensure they had informed the keeper of the Burgess Rolls of their removal so that they could vote. Party agents it seems hadn't had much time to increase the register through the registration courts since Summers' election in 1892 and only 84 new voters had been registered by both parties. It is a testament to the importance of this 'get out the vote' strategy and the work of agents, and inebriated cart handlers, that the bye-election in 1893 was decided by only 35 votes and in Crosland's favour.

It was in the nature of the dispute that Woodhead showed his true attitude towards labour. Despite nearly three decades of returning Liberal candidates whom they felt represented their interests, the majority of the working-class electors of Huddersfield made a decisive and informed shift away from the Liberals and Woodhead. There is, therefore, tangible evidence in this election that some of the principles of practical democracy becoming engraved into the political consciousness of Huddersfield's working classes. Despite the possible distaste with which some working men would have had for voting Conservative and the transparent pragmatism of the Conservative candidate, more voters turned out than at any previous election, and the Conservatives received their highest vote ever (even than subsequent elections when the register was larger). This activity may have been solely with the intention of keeping Woodhead

11 P. A. Readman, 'The 1895 General Election and political change in late Victorian Britain', *Historical Journal*, 43, 4, 1999, p. 486

12 *Huddersfield Chronicle,* 28 January 1893

out, but it exemplifies the fact that sophisticated political choices were being made by informed working men. It is ironic, that in the early stages of the election on 13 January, just before his nomination, Woodhead had written in the *Examiner*, "the working man should vote for whichever candidate comes nearest to the standard of what they require". Ironic therefore for Woodhead that he obviously did not meet the mark.

Unfortunately, there are few statistics to confirm this contention. Exit polls, voter sampling, focus groups nor any of the accoutrements of the modern 'science' of psephology were available and the Ballots Act, enlightened as it was, denies the historian at least a fleeting idea of how many men in the stereotypical worker's flat cap voted for each candidate. In that case assumption must be relied upon and here, the assumption is that those who switched their vote, or those who came out who had not done so in previous elections, did so because they deliberately calculated that their best interests lay with the Unionist candidate, even if he was not ideal. Thus 1893 was a turning point in Huddersfield's history, marking a shift of consciousness away from candidates who did not stand, at least in part, on a labourer's platform. The *Labour Elector* of 11 February emphatically praised the working-class voter for their dissension from the Woodhead Liberals,

> BRAVO! Huddersfield, well done workers...On Saturday last they did not vote for Crosland, they voted against Woodhead. That is the key to taking action, and they will go on now voting against Joseph Woodhead's in every constituency until they have exterminated the species.[13]

The success didn't last long for Crosland. He was defeated in 1895 by a Liberal, Sir James Woodhouse, with the irony that a large portion of the 1,584 votes for the third candidate, Russell Smart of the Independent Labour Party, would probably have gravitated to him. The Liberals held Huddersfield for nearly thirty more years, James Woodhouse winning in 1900 and 1906.

The *Labour Elector's* celebration and the subsequent failure of Crosland to maintain the workers' vote and thus the Huddersfield seat, and its restoration to the Liberals with a more flexible candidate, suggests that the principal argument made by this article, that the Liberals lost because Woodhead was the wrong candidate, is borne out. Woodhead suffered defeat because he misread the context of the election in the firm belief that what he had on offer was what others would want. He didn't bother to ask them if it was.

David Green BA (Hons), MA, MRes, PGCE, is a former undergraduate and post-graduate student at the University of Huddersfield and is currently studying for a Doctorate in Architecture at Nottingham Trent University focusing on improving heritage education in schools. He worked for seventeen years as Senior Lecturer in History and Politics at FE Colleges in Wakefield and Huddersfield and is currently working for a teacher training agency.

13 *Labour Elector,* 11 February 1893

FROM THE ARMY DRILL ONTO THE FACTORY SHIFT: HISTORY OF THE SUFI-MUSLIMS IN DEWSBURY (1961–2020)

Waseem Riaz

Introduction

If the Potato Famine in Ireland changed Dewsbury's demography during the late 19th century with the arrival of what is now the town's large population of Irish-descended Catholic residents, then the long-term effects of the Second World War after 1945 were to do something similar – but in a much more slower form. The arrival of the area's first Sufi-Muslim migrants during the post-war decades of the 1950s and 1960s came long after the Irish, and nearly two decades after Dewsbury's 'wartime' Polish refugees found shelter in the town.

The Sufi-Muslim community in Dewsbury is scattered across a number of different neighbourhoods like Saville-Town, Thornhill, and Eastborough. Others live in the areas of Ravensthorpe, Westtown, and on Dewsbury Moor. Together, these neighbourhoods hold a diverse mix of different cultures. Besides the majority white English speaking population, more recent arrivals have been Iraqi-Kurdish immigrants. This group originally came during the 1990s as persecuted young male refugees fleeing from Saddam Hussein's war-torn Iraq.

Today, these Iraqi-Kurdish men are the town's hardest working citizens owning a number of busy barbers' shops, and some very colourful exotic food stores. Like a lot of other areas in Kirklees, there is also an Eastern European presence in Dewsbury. Their children attend local schools – and have quickly learned to speak fluent English. This article however will focus on the Sufi-Muslim community's development and its growth in the neighbourhoods of Ravensthorpe, Westtown, and in Dewsbury Moor.

The 1960s - Plenty Work, But No Workers!

The post-war economy in Dewsbury - made up of mostly shoddy mills and textile factories - needed a kick-start after the Second World War. But the problem of kick-starting local industries was far more widespread than just being confined to Dewsbury or even Huddersfield (which had its own large mills – needing a kick-start - in areas like Lockwood, Crosland Moor, Birkby and Fartown).

Britain's economy in the 1950s and 1960s was struggling to 'get back on its feet' especially in the Midlands, as well as in 'the North' in Lancashire and Yorkshire, not to forget the Heavy Woollen District. There was plenty of work – but no workers to cover the rotating day and night shifts available in many of the mills standing at that time across northern towns like Dewsbury, Batley, Heckmondwike and in Huddersfield. In fact, there was a severe labour shortage of skilled workers.

'Bringing The Empire Back Home'

…and so the solution to this problem for post-war British governments during that period was to 'bring the empire back home' by recruiting young Afro-Caribbean men from the West Indies, as well as 'Asian Sepoys' from the Indian Sub-Continent. The Foreign Office under Harold Macmillan's Conservative government started the ball rolling in 1961 and during that same year arranged for H.M. Queen Elizabeth II to go on an official state visit to Pakistan. The young and stunningly beautiful 'Malikha Elizabeth' mesmerised everyone who saw her. Yet, besides the royal tour's pomp and pageantry, some important state business was done behind the scenes. A decision was made by Her Majesty's government to issue visas for large numbers of Pakistani men to come and work in Britain.

Five years later, the then President of Pakistan, Field-Marshal General Mohammad Ayub Khan reciprocated the gesture by making a state visit of his own to England in 1966. The Queen welcomed him with a ride down the Mall in a horse-drawn carriage. Lining the route to Buckingham Palace were hundreds of those same 1961 Visa granted British-Pakistani men dressed in smart suits, and waving at the two heads of state. The story is President Ayub Khan looked at them, and then whispered in the Queen's ear. "They were all loyal soldiers in your father's British-Indian Army. There are many more of them in Pakistan, looking for work. You can have them for your mills if the British government still needs more workers." By this stage, Harold Wilson had been elected as the new Labour primeminister. He promised to forge a new Britain in "the white heat of the technological revolution".

But his 'revolution' needed more men - and women - to help fill the empty vacancies still common in mill-towns like Dewsbury. And so the 'immigrants' started to arrive, former British-Indian Army soldiers - who were mostly followers of Sufi-Islam from the provinces of Punjab and Kashmir. They came to settle and work in Leeds, Bradford, Calderdale, Wakefield, Huddersfield ...and in Dewsbury. A very tiny number of Sufi-Muslims from the Gujarat province of India also made their home in Dewsbury town. At the time, all these men felt sure they were only going to stay in the country for just a few years until the government would order everyone to return back home to the Indian Sub-Continent.

The Forgotten Army

The majority of Pakistani immigrants who came to Dewsbury were ex-soldiers from the old British-Indian Army. As former servicemen, they had fought for Britain during the Second World War in major campaigns such as at El-Alamein in Libya, at Monte-Cassino in Italy, and against the Japanese in South-East Asia. Contingents from the British-Indian Armed forces had also landed in Normandy on D-Day during the final stages of the conflict. These soldiers (whose villages after 1947 had come into the new Muslim nation-state of Pakistan) had been part of the largest volunteer force ever to be recruited in British military history. The men had now returned – not to fight in another conflict – but to this time help the British economy recover from the

war's devastating effects. Military names such as 'Hawaldar' (meaning 'Sergeant'), 'Jamadhar' ('Platoon Officer'), and 'Subedar' ('Warrant Officer') were still proudly being used on the streets of Dewsbury during the sixties by those who had held these titles back in their army days.

British-Indian Army soldiers shows 'Subedar' ('Warrant Officer') Abdul Subhan, Mohammad Qadir Khan, Major Anno Khan, 'Subedar' ('Warrant Officer') Mohammad Khan. Photograph reproduced with kind permission of the National Army Museum

From 'Fauji' To 'Teddy'!

This first generation found it difficult to speak fluent English. Yet, local employers were still ready to take them in mills such as Thomas Burnley's, and Ravens-Ings in Dewsbury, or at the Flush complex in Heckmondwike. There were jobs for them as long as this new 'Asian' immigrant work-force was able to follow basic instructions and operate the machinery. But the future still seemed uncertain. Besides their jobs, there was nowhere else to go. Nobody knew anything about their culture or their 'Fauji' (army) background. They were seen as 'foreigners' even though the men wore English shirts, ties, and suits during the day. Some even combed their hair and dressed like the 'Teddy Boys' earning the nickname 'Ta'edy' within their own tiny communities.

As former soldiers, the men had a lot of respect for authority and British rule of law. Unfortunately, it was not enough. Unlike the Irish immigrants and the Polish refugees who had come before them, there were problems for these 'Asians' trying to blend into Dewsbury's mainstream British culture. Their skin-colour made them stand out from the rest of the public. Incidents of 'Paki-Bashing' were rife on the streets – and the racism became more severe as Far-Right groups like the National Front became active throughout the 1970s in most northern towns like Dewsbury. In fact, to even take a walk on Sunday afternoons in Dewsbury's Crow Nest Park was a huge risk because of the racism so rife during that era.

Due to those frightening times, the area's Sufi-Muslim residents did not really think of Britain as their home. A fearful feeling of violence on the streets was still stuck in their minds. The worry of an uncertain future led large numbers of those early migrants to live together in groups of up to ten men in one house! They only began moving into their own properties when the first women started arriving during the early-1970s.

Saturday Afternoons With Mohammad Rafi

Going to 'the pictures' at local cinemas was a 'no go'. There was far too much racism. So, on their days off work, the only alternative was to meet in one of the houses, where the men used to sit for hours in a crowded living room talking about anything and everything. The conversations were mostly on village life back 'home' in Pakistan.

There were very few 'Asian' homes at first in Westtown, Dewsbury Moor, and in Ravensthorpe. If so, then everyone lived in small terrace houses. The lifestyles of these early post-war families were modest simple ones - living without the luxuries of washing-machines, no indoor lavatories or bathrooms, no central heating, no fast-food, no double-glazed windows, and no gas fires. Some homes, not all, had a black and white television with only three main channels – BBC1, BBC 2, and ITV. Otherwise a tape-recorder, in the living room's background, usually played romantic love songs sung by popular Indian playback singers of that period like Mohammad Rafi and Lata Mangeshkar. In fact, the voice of Mohammad Rafi was often heard in most of the first 'Asian Shops' which began to open during the early-1980s on Ravensthorpe's main Huddersfield Road.

Some of the shops sold rolls of colourful fabrics with wide ranging beautiful patterns printed on them. This material was then sewn as lady's clothes. Others were grocery

Chief Inspector Ian Gayles from Dewsbury Police Station, along with Commander Allen Senior of Dewsbury Fire Station present bouquets of flowers to senior Sufi-Scholar, Shaiykh Mufti Noor-Ul-Arifin before the start of Dewsbury's 2012 EID-Milad Peace Procession. Photograph: author's own.

shops selling foodstuffs such as South-Asian herbs and spices, different varieties of lentils, packets of basmati rice, tins of ghee, large bags of chapatti flour, fresh fruit and vegetables, as well as sweets, chocolates, and crisps for the children, not to forget the most important item – Halal meat and poultry. At this stage, there were no take-aways or restaurants. The men had to get into a number 268 bus on Sunday afternoons and go to Bradford which was the only place with a Sweet Centre in its Mannigham area of Lumb Lane. This first-generation lived through some harsh and bitterly cold winters. All they seemed to see was rain, thick fog, and heavy snowfalls from December onwards until perhaps February.

The Role Of Religion

Most of the local Pakistani families settled in Ravensthorpe, Westtown, and Moorside during the decade of the sixties were Sunni-Muslims from a mainstream spiritual denomination known in English as 'Sufism' or 'Sufi-Islam'. Its cultural Sub-Continental name in India and Pakistan was the Ah'le-Sunnat-Val Jamaat. Sufi books taught their readers to pray five times a day, as well as to give charity to the poor, to fast in Ramadhan, and to go on the sacred Hajj pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia at least once in their lives. The origins of Sufi-Islam went back over a thousand years. Throughout the movement's history, Sufi leaders had preached an important belief called 'Sul-Hi-Khul' (meaning 'love for all'). But the most spiritually striking feature for its followers was to celebrate prophet Mohammad's birthday – known as Eid-Milad – by decorating their homes and Mosques with bright illuminations. Such a practice made them stand out from other Sunni-Muslim denominations.

The Sufi Awakening

At first, religion was not very important for the Sufi residents of 1960s Dewsbury. They only expected to stay in the country for a few years. So, the thought of buying a house, or opening a Mosque was out of the question. Yet things were about to change as the new decade of the seventies dawned. The Sufi population steadily grew throughout the 1970s. By now, a lot of women had come from Pakistan to live with their husbands. In fact, more came during the 1980s. Despite the racism and violence of those decades, people slowly began to realise the return to Pakistan may after all not happen.

The First 'Masjids'

By the late seventies and early-1980s, the 'elderly' first-generation realised another third-generation was growing up. These 'grand-children' were learning English in local primary and high-schools. Yet, there was no place for them to go where the boys and girls could learn to read the Koran (which is the Muslim faith's main religious book, similar to the Bible in Christianity). So, household 'mosques' began opening in various locations where local kids had to turn up after normal school hours. Shoes had to be taken off. Here, they sat on the carpet and learned to read the Arabic alphabet for about a year, before going onto the main Arabic Koranic text. The Koranic-learning classes are known as 'maddrassahs' in Muslim culture.

The Community Begins to Develop

As the area's Sufi-Muslim population began to grow from the early-eighties onwards, the small terraced house 'mosques' no longer seemed fit to be used as places of worship. A lot of people, especially the increasing numbers of second-generation Pakistani men were now also driving cars. So the adult congregation needed bigger prayer-halls, along with proper parking space outside. The Maddrassahs were also getting overcrowded with far too many children, as well as worshippers – and footwear used to get lost! This issue of space led to a number of Sufi-Muslim places of worship being opened in Dewsbury. These were mosques in Ravensthorpe like the Ghausia Jamia on North Road (established in 1984), the Anwaar-E-Madina (est. 1986), and the Aslamiyya Naqshbandi (est. 2010). The Gulzar-E-Madina Jamia Mosque (est. 1992) was also opened in Westtown, and the Faizan-E-Madina Jamia Mosque was set up in Dewsbury Moor (est. 1998).

The 'Dewsbury Mission'

The opening of Mohaddis-E-Azam Education Centre & Madani Mosque on Dewsbury Moor in 2007 was a huge lifeline especially for those youngsters living in that actual area of the town. This place of worship started a Maddrassah which in a short space of time became hugely popular not just on 'The Moor' but across the whole of North Kirklees! It was led by a specially appointed headteacher – Moalana-Hafiz Faizurahman. He was also a qualified third-generation English-speaking Imam and religious scholar. Under this mosque's roof, nearly 400 local children were safely off the streets from Monday to Friday evenings, and receiving a high-quality faith-education – backed by lessons on positive citizenship. All the pupils in this Maddrassah got placed in different classrooms depending on their age and learning ability. A record of each child's progress was kept, and the maddrassah also organised regular parents' evenings. The achievements of the 'Dewsbury Mission' - as this place of worship is known by its members - became a model of good practice for other mosques

Sufi Culture on the Streets - The Peace Processions

An 'invisible' Sufi community of the sixties became more visible - and colourful - as its numbers grew across Dewsbury. In fact, the effects of Sufi-Muslim culture were clearly visible from the 1990s onwards especially when local residents began to come out onto the streets to celebrate the festival of Eid-Milad marking prophet Mohammed's birthday. The Gulzar-E-Madina Jamia Mosque was first to organise an Eid-Milad Peace Procession in 1994. The peace march has since been an important yearly event. Today, crowds of elderly worshippers, alongside parents with their children, and the youth, come out to take part in the annual peace-procession waving special green Sufi-Muslim flags. The colour green in Islam is a symbol of love for nature and the environment. Samosas, herbal tea and hot milk get served throughout the procession route. Even passing white-English motorists are offered free packets of Samosas, and a fresh rose, as a gesture of good-will! A smaller Eid-Milad Peace-Procession was also organised by

EID-Milad Peace Procession in 2014. Photograph: author's own.

local Sufi-residents on the streets of Ravensthorpe in 2008. This procession is now a regular public event in their calendar.

The Illuminations

There is a saying Heckmondwike town gave the idea to Blackpool of putting up Christmas illuminations at its famous seaside resort. Sufi-Muslim culture in Dewsbury then gave a similar idea for its followers to decorate their homes with bright flickering lights at the time of Eid-Milad celebrations. Green Sufi-flags are also placed inside window-sills surrounded by colourful illuminating bulbs. This culture of home-lit illuminations has now become a regular visible feature during the evenings in many Sufi-Muslim houses.

Mixing of Cultures

The past five decades have seen a vast change in Dewsbury's landscape. This change was not just the iconic mills closing down, or a shift in the town's demography, or a rise in the numbers of new semi-detached homes, along with social Housing, being built across Moorside, Westtown, as well as in Ravensthorpe. There was also positive change in the choice of foods and tasty cuisine made available on the streets of Dewsbury.

The early post-war 'Asian' migrants of the 1960's got their first taste of British culture when eating cereals like Kellogg's Cornflakes, Weetabix, Cadbury's chocolate bars and packets of Seabrook Crisps. It was a positive start! Over the years, English-speaking society slowly began adopting Indian Muslim cuisine as part of its weekly evening diet. Today, Muslims have given Samosas, Seekh Kebabs and Shammi Kebabs, Chicken Tikkas, Masallas, Biryani and Pulao rice, a variety of spicy curry dishes, lentils, along with mouth-watering Indian Muslim cultural desserts like Rassmalai, Halwa, Khir, Mitahi, Gulab-Jamuns and... much, much more to British society.

Senior Sufi-Scholar, Professor Shaiykh Allama-Moalana Shahid Raza Naeemi (OBE) visits the Ponderosa Past-Times Museum in 2011 Photograph: author's own.

Overall, it is clear local Sufi-Muslim culture has given much to the local area, and Muslim culture in general has over the years through its cuisine made a huge contribution to Dewsbury's local life and economy. But the change is not just in one direction. Fish fingers, Scallops, and Yorkshire's very own traditional Fish & Chips are equally popular for the area's Muslim population. Even aspects of American and Italian culture are making their mark. 'Halal' pizzas made in different varieties, with tasty milkshakes, and burgers, are sold in all the Muslim owned take-aways open across Dewsbury during the afternoons.

Muslim culture has been happy to adopt Halal Fish & Chips, Halal Shepherd's Pie, Halal Pizzas, Halal Chicken Burgers, Milkshakes and Coca-Cola, along with a wide range of crisps, sweets, soft-drinks, and chocolates, as an important part of their daily life. So, we can now ask the question, is it a 'clash of cultures' or a 'taste of different cultures'? This strong cultural relationship has existed since the time of that highly disciplined first-generation of Sufi-Muslim ex-servicemen who first made their home in Dewsbury over fifty years ago.

Waseem Riaz is a founder member of the Kirklees Faith Network which aims to promote a better understanding of our shared social history and heritage amongst different cultures and faith groups settled over the years in our neighbourhoods and communities. He is a former History student from the University of Huddersfield. He is also the author of the 'Quaid-E-Azam Education Resource Pack' which looks at the life story of 'Great Leader' ('Quaid-E-Azam') Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan.

LINTHWAITE'S SUFFRAGIST

Liz Quinn

Florence Elizabeth Lockwood, née Murray, was born 21st October 1861, in Plymouth, the daughter of a naval doctor. In the winter of 1901, aged 40, she travelled to Huddersfield, to visit her sister, and met Josiah Lockwood, a local mill owner. They were married the following summer and she engaged in the campaigning for equality, progressing to be the President of the Colne Valley Women Liberals and a Liberal Poor Law Union Board Guardian for Linthwaite and she campaigned strongly for a local maternity hospital. However, she is most renowned for her suffragist work during the twentieth century to make women's voting rights a reality.

In 2019, after being inspired by the Kirklees Council museum exhibition about the suffragist movement, a local schoolgirl, Georgia Atherton-Quinn, designed a bookmark as a Blue Peter project, which featured Florence. The local community group paid to have this produced, with all 3 local junior schools being provided with 200 copies each.

Florence Lockwood's grave was also rediscovered, in 2019, at Christ Church cemetery, having become lost under soil and grass, and was restored.

On International Women's Day 2020, around 30 people attended the unveiling of an information panel, funded through a Council ward budget grant obtained by Pride in Linthwaite CIC, celebrating her life and achievement. This is situated at the entrance to her historical home, on the corner of Stone Gate Drive and Waingate, in Linthwaite, and has been surrounded by flowers that she used to plant on that spot, daffodils.

It was felt that International Women's Day was the perfect time to celebrate this inspirational woman, as its aims are:

- To eliminate discrimination against women, so they can gain full and equal participation.
- To celebrate the social, economic, cultural and political achievements of women.
- To accelerate gender parity.

All things which Florence campaigned and stood for throughout her whole life.

She started her adult life as a talented landscape painter. In 1887, aged 26, despite her mother's protestations, she enrolled at the Slade School of Fine Art in Bloomsbury, London, living in a shared boarding house.

Remaining in London after her education, she made an independent living taking on commissions for sketches and watercolours of wealthy patrons' houses and estates. In 1901 she made that fateful visit with her sister, who was a qualified nurse, to tend to an elderly housekeeper who had broken her leg, at the home of woollen manufacturer, Josiah Lockwood, at Black Rock mill, Linthwaite.

He was away from home that evening, but invited them to lunch on New Year's Eve, as a way of expressing his thanks. Whilst Jess rebandaged the injured housekeeper, Josiah took Florence on a tour of the mill. Josiah was a widower, having previously been married to Mary, and had one son, Sam, who was born in 1882, Mary having died of peritonitis 13 years previously.

As they were returning to the house, Josiah suddenly proposed, asking, "Would you like to join at Black Rock mill?" Even in Florence's own diary, she later noted that she regarded this not entirely seriously, but replied, "Yes! It would just suit me!"

Josiah called at Jess's house the very next day, however, and proposed more formally, and Florence accepted. They were married on the 2 July in St Giles Church, London, whereafter Florence moved to Black Rock house.

She found settling into Linthwaite life difficult, finding that her ways were too bohemian for some, even her husband at times. She noted in her diary that she had upset him by removing some furniture without consulting him and noted that she would try to be more considerate of his feelings. She also tried to set up an informal ladies' group, but they seemed to find her situation too informal for ladies of leisure. However, she kept herself busy, running the house, painting, and involving herself where she could in the community.

She described a "psychological moment", in her diary, on 30 June 1907, when she heard a certain Mrs Pankhurst speaking at Linthwaite Fold. She explained, "I edged nearer and nearer her. What she said was new and inspiring to me. Why should women be political nonentities indeed? It was women's duty to demand that they should be allowed to exercise a Parliamentary vote and to understand and take part in the affairs of the state side by side with men."

The next day the group called on the Lockwoods and asked to borrow a cart from which to speak, to which Josiah agreed, and indeed he seems to have been very supportive, encouraging even, of his wife's growing interest in the suffrage movement.

On the 18 July of the same year, voters went to the polls, and in a shock result the first Labour candidate and suffrage supporter, Victor Grayson, won the Colne Valley seat. Soon afterwards, Florence was invited to a meeting at the local Liberal club to hear Cicely Corbett, a National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) campaigner, speak. She stated she was reluctant to attend, as her "home fireside was so comfortable" that evening, but, when she did rouse herself to attend, she must have found common ground, as she offered Cicely hospitality, and she stayed as a guest at Black Rock mills that night. It was interesting to note that she wrote in her diary that generally the ladies of Linthwaite were NOT impressed with Cicely's stance.

Things for Florence moved on quickly. In her diary soon afterwards, she noted, "Our house became a haven for organisers and speakers."

Helen Studdard came to enrol new members for the NUWSS, a few months later. Off the back of this, a small Linthwaite Women's Liberal Association was formed, and Florence eagerly joined. Sometime around 1908, Florence became President for the whole of Huddersfield NUWSS. During this time, she engaged her artistic talents in embroidering a magnificent banner, emblazoned with the words 'Votes for Women', which shows the view along the valley from Milnsbridge towards Slaithwaite, in the NUWSS colours of green and purple.

As part of her campaigning, Florence had a pamphlet published, in 1912, entitled 'The Enfranchisement of Women'. A particularly moving passage in this reads, "Every free man should be recognised as having a right to say in making the laws he has to obey. It is only slaves who must obey laws without being consulted, and women are in that sense still in the position of slaves... If the present Reform Bill... becomes law, without amending it in favour of women, we shall be face to face with the political enslavement of women in its most acute form. Every young man of 21 years of age will be the political master of his mother... It is hoped that every self-respecting woman will turn with anger against such an insult."

The following year, Josiah encouraged Florence to attend the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) congress in Budapest, after seeing a handbill which had been delivered to the house through the post. She attended, on her own, as an observer, and she returned, inspired, and became active in travelling the local villages to recruit new Friends of Women's Suffrage. However, it was reported that her poor health prevented her from attending the great NUWSS pilgrimage in the same year.

Florence and Josiah did not always share the same opinions, although he had been extremely supportive of Florence's suffragist stance. Regarding the First World War, she described herself as a pacifist. However, Josiah did not, and could not, share this view; indeed, his mill supplied lengths of khaki cloth for the army uniforms. Their relationship seemed to become strained for a while, with Florence reporting that he started "taking his tea at the local Liberal club", although this did not seem to cause any lasting damage to their relationship.

Upon their retirement from the mill they moved to Black Rock farm together. After Josiah's death in 1924, at age 70, Florence returned to London. She reported that she found staying in Linthwaite "too sad" without him. 8 years later, she published her autobiography, *An Ordinary Life*. This can be viewed, with her diaries, in West Yorkshire archives.

Florence died April 27 1937, aged 75, in London. She was cremated in Golders Green, and her ashes are interred next to Josiah's, at Christ Church cemetery, Linthwaite.

Thank-you, Florence, for all you did, at a time where it was not universally popular: "Why should women be political nonentities, indeed?"

LEARNING FROM ORAL HISTORY: GROWING UP IN A WORKING-CLASS COMMUNITY DEWSBURY IN 1950s AND 1960s

Michael George

A study of history provides an opportunity to pause and to reflect, to make sense of partially understood conceptions of our past and to challenge the easy stereotypes that build up. The conducting and analysis of an oral history interview provided an opportunity to undertake such a review. What follows is the analysis of a University oral history project exploring childhood and youth. It discusses the nature and value of oral history as well as its potential limitations. The interview undertaken provides a distinctive working-class account of growing up in industrial West Yorkshire, recalling the sense of community of Crackenedge Lane in Dewsbury in the 1950s and 1960s. The full interview is available in the sound archives at Heritage Quay at the University and is quoted from throughout. Whereas some sociological studies have tended to downgrade working-class solidarity to a sense of neighbourliness, the account provided a sense of the cross generational and cross family ties between some of the poorer members of the community.[1] I conducted the interview with Terry Hudson who was born in 1953 in Wakefield and grew up with his grandparents initially in Crofton and then Dewsbury, which his recollections principally relate to. He describes a community gradually eroded by middle class incursion and the advance of consumerism. It is a narrative that, I argue, is influenced by Terry's political stance, with a didactic purpose that colours, but does not undermine the value of his recollections. A stance honed as a counterpoint to my own middle-class background and right of centre politics and amounting to a critique of the subsequent weakening of social bonds in West Yorkshire. It is a narrative that runs through Terry's personal and family story, reflecting wider societal fragmentation and decline.

Oral history allows different perspectives to be understood, such as the thoughts of participants and observers in society who do not form part of the records of government, ruling classes or the law. The voices of ordinary people and those marginalised may be heard, which can challenge Whiggish accounts of the steady advance of human society.[2] It can support written sources or explain how material culture was used, but most importantly it reveals the meaning in between representation and experience.[3] Not just revealing social changes but identifying the cultural impetus underpinning that change. Children's stories are by their nature largely unwritten and the recall of

1 C. Phillipson, 'Community studies and re-studies in the 21st century: Methodological challenges and strategies for the future', *The Sociological Review,* 60, 3, 2012, p. 537

2 M. Chamberlain, 'Memory Theory: Personal and Social', in T. L. Charlton, L. E. Myers and R. Sharpless. *Handbook of Oral History.* Lanham, MD, Altamira Press Chamberlain. 2008. pp. 387-388

3 See for instance, A. Portelli, 'What makes oral history different', in R. Perks & A. Thomson, *The Oral History Reader* (3rd ed.), London, Routledge, 2016, pp. 49 & 52

their perspective is an important function of oral history, partly their perception of generations past as well as the childhood experience itself and how it has changed. The interview focused on the observable effects of the class structure and it is those extracts that I chiefly draw upon in this reflective essay. In drawing out these facets in the interview the result is therefore a combination of the areas I wished to explore, as well as those that Terry chose to emphasise and bears some risk of over simplification and the establishment of a convenient theme: the importance of working-class community life.[4] However, even though the directive nature of the discussion caused this focus, and formation of connected memories, it reveals a strong belief that things have changed.

An interview becomes the product of both participants, the questions asked; the perception of the interviewer's purpose, knowledge, ethical standpoint; and reactions to the interviewee, will influence the output.[5] I have known Terry for ten years, through volunteering for the charity, Samaritans in Huddersfield. It is a service that encourages openness, and the sharing of sensitive feelings without being judged. This approach influenced the interview, allowing us to comfortably discuss Terry's absent father and mother, humiliations occasioned by poverty, as well as Terry's self-professed strangeness. It also allowed him to voice criticism of his grandfather's laziness, and his Mother who, 'never hung around home much, more interested in going out'.[6] We already know quite a lot about each other's opinions and background, so when discussing religion Terry summed up, 'so religion didn't play much of a part in my childhood, I am afraid,' this apology was for my sensibilities. Similarly, Terry commented that he was not sure if what he was saying was what I wanted to hear, indicating an eagerness to be helpful to a friend. There is an age difference of nineteen years, prompting Terry to explain how different the past was; he noted that, 'Dewsbury market used to be quite a big market, and an important one, as markets did in West Yorkshire'. Perhaps the most influential differences are class and politics, between working-class socialist Terry and myself. Differences which result in good-natured, but frequent disagreements. These may have contributed towards the prominence of working and middle-class characters and their links to the community in Terry's account. Our friendship may have also led to Terry feeling comfortable in expressing somewhat of a caricature of his Yorkshire pride, in the manner of a professional Yorkshireman, developing some responses into a practised performance. These factors are important to the understanding of the interview, and whilst at times, the strength of expression may have been exaggerated, it demonstrates important truths about Terry's self-narrative, whilst being reflective of our friendship.[7]

4 A. Portelli 'Living voices: The Oral History Interview as Dialogue and Experience. *The Oral History Review,* 45*,* 2, 2018, pp. 239-240

5 Portelli, 'What makes oral history different', p. 55; D. A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 101

6 Oral History Interview with Terry Hudson, 21 February 2019, conducted by M. George

7 Portelli, 'Living voices', p244; Portelli, 'What makes oral history different', p. 53

Twentieth century working-class narratives often recall a sense of community, which then degraded over time, particularly during the 1980s.[8] Amongst academics there has been some debate about the nature of working-class communities. It is suggested by some that recollection of the warmth of working-class childhood and feelings of belonging are a myth, recounted afresh to comfort each successive generation.[9] It is suggested that inevitably backward-looking oral history recorded the romantic recollections of working-class communities, rather than class resistance against capitalist exploitation described by socialist writers, simply because of the reflective nature of the process that tends to bring out fonder memories.[10] Historians are not convinced by the strength of working-class communities, finding evidence that they were of a lesser order, merely neighbourly rather than any more cohesive.[11] Terry's account gives strong evidence of neighbourliness, he talked about the closeness of the working-class community of Crackenedge Lane in Dewsbury. Friendliness was often mentioned: 'people were friendly', 'It was friendly, it was nice', visits to Annie's corner shop and the chip shop were continually slowed down by his grandmother talking to people, much to a young Terry's frustration. Terry divides his recollections into the closeness of children, irrespective of their background, recalling his Pakistani girlfriend Bhala and friends: working-class Anthony and middle-class Richard. In comparison Terry describes the adult Street residents as somewhat more separate, in particular those that owned their homes, and those that rented them. Whilst this division may be a later construction rationalising what he perceived, it is important, nonetheless. Terry emphasises that there was 'no animosity', but there was a difference in the means of the families that was also marked by where they lived within the street, with the better off living in houses at the top of the hill. It does suggest adult, inter-class differences were present and were beginning to be noticed by children.

Noted Huddersfield educationalist, Brian Jackson's studies of working-class Yorkshire communities considered the influence of affluence and education on the working-classes and their gradual conversion into the middle class. Jackson identified that economic pressures generally pulled the working class together, 'whereas it splits the middle class into much more separate households'.[12] Terry's account reflects this, and the poverty of his own family, and that of his friend Anthony, seems to have brought them closer. Terry recalls an anecdote reinforcing the traditional notion that doors were left unlocked at the working-class household of his friend Anthony, where each family would routinely walk in to each other's house, whilst it was necessary to knock and wait to go in, at the locked door of middle-class Richard's house. It is a recollection that neatly encompasses the difference between the two sorts of people for Terry,

8 Phillipson, 'Community studies', pp. 544-545

9 M. Featherstone, *Localism, Globalism and Cultural Identity*, London: SAGE Publications, 2000, p. 107

10 J. Bourke, *Working Class Cultures in Britain, 1890-1960: Gender, Class, and Ethnicity*, London, Routledge, 2002, p. 137

11 Bourke, *Working Class Cultures,* pp. 149-150

12 B. Jackson, *Working Class Community,* London, Routledge, 1969, pp. 3 & 155; B. Jackson & D. Marsden, *Education and the Working Class* (Rev. ed.), Harmondsworth: Penguin 1966; Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950*, London, Vintage, 2017, p. 313

a distinction strengthened by Richard's mother appearing as someone, almost unreal and described as appearing like an photograph in a magazine, whereas Anthony's mother appeared as more vivid and approachable, 'a big woman, very friendly', and a family that would later take in one of Terry's older sisters when Terry's immediate family moved away. This was clearly much more than the friendliness of good neighbours, the two families adopting a close bond. Another writer describes working-class mutual support and friendship as being 'provoked by poverty', a sharing of what little that was available as needed and potentially vital for each families' welfare.[13] Whereas the closeness described distinguishes it from accounts that the working-class were just neighbourly, other surveys in different parts of Britain highlight that one third in one community would never ask to borrow food from a neighbour, others reported irritation with intrusive neighbours and ensured interaction was always kept to the doorstep.[14] It may be that such concerns were adult and therefore not those of a child, but they certainly did not seem to be replicated in this working-class community in Dewsbury, where the poverty of the two families bound them more closely together.

The narrative of community in Terry's account is very strong and consistent, he supports a positive image of the working-class and growing up amidst the growing consumerism and affluence of the period. He finds the throwaway society particularly galling, marking a decline of skilled craftsmanship and the inability to mend and continue to use broken things. He reflects that the increases in home ownership in his community was breaking up the existing community. In doing so he echoes academic writing on the changes of the period.[15] The advance notice of the interview allowed time for preparation, and Terry's elaboration in response to questions, suggested that he wanted certain observations recorded. On a mundane level he added comments on specific vehicles or building materials used, but most importantly he discussed community. Inevitably the authenticity of recollection may become strained, if there is too self-conscious an attempt to tell a particular story.[16] The return to the subject of community can be understood as a comment on today's society, and the belief that the 1950s and 1960s were better. He opines on the influence of key figures during his schooling and early career, of teachers who had a vocational passion, contrasting them against the paler imitations encountered at his grandchildren's schools. He also compares his childhood roaming Caulms Wood and a nearby abandoned quarry, or 'chumping or chubbing' for wood (taking wood from other people's bonfires for their own) and most importantly surrounded by a community of friends; with the apparently few friends and lack of social interaction of his own children and grandchildren, who depend on online connection.[17]

13 S. Todd, *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class*, London, John Murray, 2015, p. 176
14 Jackson, *Working Class Community*, p. 158; Bourke, *Working Class Cultures*, pp. 141, 154; M. Young & P. Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London*, 1962, Harmondsworth, Penguin, p. 107
15 Bourke, *Working Class Cultures,* p. 25; I. Gazeley, *Poverty in Britain, 1900-1965,* Basingstoke, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2003, pp. 158-161 & 184
16 Chamberlain, 'Memory Theory', p. 398
17 Chamberlain, 'Memory Theory', p. 395

Terry's personal and family stories are somewhat of an underdog narrative, situating his family in opposition to larger forces such as the Army, National Coal Board and property landlords. As Terry approached adulthood he became increasingly close to his grandfather, whom he appears to strongly identify with. His grandfather was described by his grandmother as lazy, and by Terry as hardworking in his own family interests, gardening and raising a pig in the yard of their home in Crofton, to help feed the family. His grandfather was dishonourably discharged from the army around the time of the First World War, a potentially embarrassing episode for the family but dismissed by Terry, 'I don't think it bothered him too much'. Similarly recalling work for the mine, 'when it came to his work at the pit and working for other people, he did not give too much of a damn.' Terry recalls his grandfather being reduced to a 'one penny wage' after breaking a tool, and this unfairness leading to difficulties paying the rent. He recalls his family hiding from the persistent door knocking of the rent collector as they lacked the funds to pay him. There is no sense of criticism in Terry's tone recalling these stories, rather he is gleeful when recounting the tale of evading the unfair treatment of the authorities. The priority in these instances is the family's struggle against these more powerful outside forces.

Terry's interview amounts to an archetype of working-class struggle, amid a supportive working-class community. He identifies the cracks in the supportive edifice caused by the advance of capitalism, in the form of the rise of middle-class home ownership and increasing consumer good consumption. His story reinforces ideas of the neighbourliness of communities generally, and the mutual support amongst those in the working-class who were particularly struggling financially. We can see Terry's experience as representative of a greater truth, shaped by cultural understanding, internally consistent and making a coherent point.[18] It suggests that concepts of community living are highly meaningful to older working-class people now, and that their recollections of the strength of earlier communality is strong. There is regret at the passing of such unity, when current society is thought to be so distant and where community feeling has degraded.

Michael George is a mature student, in his final year of undergraduate History at the University of Huddersfield. He lives in Holmfirth and has volunteered for Huddersfield Samaritans for ten years, serving a three-year term as its Director. Previously Michael worked as an internal auditor in higher education, the Police and the NHS.

18 A. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli, and Other Stories*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991, p137; Lindsey Dodd, 'It did not traumatise me at all: Childhood 'trauma' in French oral narratives of wartime bombing' *Oral History.* 41, 2, 2013, pp. 37-48

JOSHUA HOBSON AND THE *LEEDS MERCURY*

John Halstead

It was stated in the *Huddersfield Chronicle* notice of Joshua Hobson's demise that he had been 'for several years the Huddersfield correspondent of the *Leeds Mercury*', a statement that was denied 'on the best authority' by the *Huddersfield Weekly News*: 'Hobson never was at any time the Huddersfield correspondent of that journal.'[1] Hobson, the 'representative' radical, had created an unstamped newspaper early in his career.[2] Later, he became printer and editor of the Chartist *Northern Star,* before taking the latter position at both Huddersfield papers - the *Chronicle* from 4 June 1855 to spring 1871 and, thereafter, the *Weekly News* to his death on 8 May 1876. The authors of the notices in both newspapers might be supposed therefore to have known what they were writing about. Hobson had been well-associated with Thomas Pearson Crosland, one of the proprietors of the *Chronicle*, through the Ramsden tenancy dispute of 1850-1867 and during Crosland's successful parliamentary election contest of 1865. The printer of the *Weekly News* was Benjamin Brown, his former apprentice in Leeds and principal beneficiary under his will, who could possibly have been the paper's 'best authority'. So what conclusion should we draw?

The claim that Hobson was 'Huddersfield correspondent' of the *Leeds Mercury* 'for several years' requires interpretation. If 'Huddersfield correspondent' implies residence in Huddersfield, that would not have been before his return from Leeds to a farm tenancy near Birkby Brewery in December 1845. It seems unlikely also that he would have taken a regular position as correspondent after becoming editor of the *Chronicle* in June 1855: he would have had more than enough work with his own journal. So the most likely period during which he could have been a *Leeds Mercury* '*Huddersfield* correspondent' is from January 1847 to 1855. But further interrogation of the term 'Huddersfield correspondent' is necessary.

Correspondence from Huddersfield might involve regular contributions or occasional ones. A search of references to 'our correspondent' in the *Mercury* during the 1840s to the 1860s often indicates a column on some topic of interest from an unnamed person writing from Huddersfield. The correspondent in such instances is a letter writer,

1 *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 12 May 1876, p3; *Huddersfield Weekly News*, 13 May 1876, p. 8

2 The characterisation of Hobson's radicalism as 'representative' comes from J.F.C. Harrison, *Learning and Living 1790-1960. A Study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement,* Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 98. The representativeness of his radicalism included support for parliamentary reform, including the six points, the Charter, a free press, limitation of the hours of employment of children in textile mills, co-operation, opposition to the introduction of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, and Owenite socialism. See John Halstead, 'The Charter and Something More! The Politics of Joshua Hobson, 1810-1876', in *The Charter Our Right! Huddersfield Chartism Re-considered*, edited by John A. Hargreaves, Huddersfield Local History Society, 2018, pp. 83-122. On the early newspaper career see John Halstead, 'The Voice of the West Riding: Promoters and Supporters of a Provincial Unstamped Newspaper, 1833-34' in *On The Move. Essays in Labour and Transport History Presented to Philip Bagwell*, edited by Chris Wrigley and John Shepherd, Hambledon Press, 1991, pp. 22-57

generally expressing controversial opinions or containing controversial matter, which probably accounts for the anonymity. In other cases, where the 'correspondent' reports on Huddersfield public meetings or the proceedings in numerous court cases, a regular newspaper reporter is likely to have been involved.

Hobson is unlikely to have been involved in these instances. He was not afraid to put his name to letters on matters of general public interest and I don't see a case for his authorship of anything appearing from an anonymous correspondent. It seems most unlikely that he would have been retained to report regularly for the *Mercury* on court cases or public meetings, as this would have interfered with his other responsibilities.

The difficulty with this view, however, is that Hobson did write anonymously for the *Huddersfield Chronicle* between its foundation in 1850 and his assumption of the editorship in 1855. Could he then have been the *Mercury* correspondent for its regular reports on meetings of the Huddersfield Improvement Commission? If reporting on these meetings Hobson would often have been writing about his own participation as Clerk of the Commission's Board of Works as well as on the contributions of the Commissioners. Nonetheless, Hobson's presence was not always reported. The accuracy of the published reports about Hobson's presence and disagreements with others at meetings was not challenged subsequently. Not dissimilar reports appeared in other Leeds newspapers, such as the *Intelligencer.* This suggests the engagement of some other newspaper reporter.

This might appear to settle the matter in favour of the view expressed in the *Huddersfield Weekly News*, but there is a complication. Dennis Whomsley has suggested that a description of Huddersfield appearing in the *Leeds Mercury* issue of 15 December 1849 was from Hobson's hand.[3] But there is a difficulty. The regular issue of the paper for that date, which can be inspected in its digitized version, does not contain any relevant material.[4] The second problem is that though the *Mercury* published three *Supplements* to the regular issue of the paper in December the relevant articles were unsigned. Three successive issues carried articles on 'The Sanitary Movement'. Part I was subtitled, 'Additions to large Towns'; Part II, 'True Principles of Town Construction'; Part III, 'Proposed Increase to the Town of Huddersfield'.[5] Dennis Whomsley separately commented on this series on a separate page from that noted above, and attributed authorship to Hobson.[6] Could Whomsley be correct despite their appearance unsigned?

3 Dennis Whomsley, 'A Landed Estate and the Railway: Huddersfield 1844-1854', *The Journal of Transport History*, New Series Vol. II, No. 4, September 1974, p. 190, n. 10

4 *Leeds Mercury*, 15 December 1849, britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000076/18491215/001/0001?browse=true .... /026/008?browse+true. Accessed 24 January 2020

5 Supplement to *Leeds Mercury*, 1 December, 8 December, 15 December 1849. The main issues for these dates are available online for subscribers to British Newspaper Archive, but the Supplements are currently available only in hard copy at the British Library.

6 Whomsley, 'Landed Estate', *The Journal of Transport History*, New Series Vol. II, No. 4, 1974, p. 202 and n.125

There is no doubt that the attribution was justified. While the first two parts of the series could have come from any number of well-educated persons with knowledge of the Health of Towns movement and the sanitary reports of 1842, the third part, focused on Huddersfield, contained some direct evidence. This is that at one point the author remarks it could have become 'one of the best regulated in the kingdom'. It was 'painful to reflect on the condition of the town, where the ground belonged to one party'. If the will had been there to make things otherwise, it would have been possible to secure for the population 'every comfort and convenience that well-ventilated and properly constructed *homes*' could impart. We have here a direct echo of Hobson's August 1844 broadsheet, *Why Should Not Huddersfield Become one of the Best Regulated Towns in the Kingdom*.[7] Hobson was writing anonymously in 1849 because of his position as Clerk to the Board of Works of the Improvement Commission.[8] But as Whomsley notes, it was Hobson who set the standard for public discussion, influenced proposals of the Paving and Drainage Committee of the Improvement Commissioners and had an impact on the Ramsden Trustees, which produced the improved and admired layout of the area around the George Hotel and the railway station.[9]

We can conclude then that Hobson did contribute to the *Leeds Mercury*, but anonymously so as not to comprise his position with the Improvement Commissioners, no doubt calculating that criticism of Ramsden management of its estate and of plans for the new town would be more effective with the Trustees and those deferential to them at Huddersfield within the prosperous readership of the *Mercury*. He did not appear as a correspondent of the paper, except as a named letter writer, and he would not have been its reporter or 'our correspondent' in any contributions so identified. Hobson and Edward Baines Junior, the editor of the *Mercury*, were personally acquainted from at least 1835.[10] They would have had the measure of each other's ability, as evinced in acceptance of the *Supplement* articles, even though they were fiercely opposed on many political questions.

The *Chronicle* statement that Hobson was 'for several years the Huddersfield correspondent' of the *Leeds Mercury* can apparently be dismissed and the denial of the *Weekly News* accepted. Yet that he contributed to the *Mercury* is another matter. In that sense, a reversal is required and the historian must wonder whether there were other anonymous contributions that could be detected.

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7 S. Chadwick, *'A Bold and Faithful Journalist': Joshua Hobson 1810-1876*, Kirklees Libraries and Museum Service, 1976, p. 40. David Griffiths, *Joseph Brook of Greenhead: 'Father of the Town'*, Huddersfield Local History Society, 2013, pp. 28-29

8 He wrote under his name and official position however to the *Morning Chronicle*, 11 December 1849, 6, to correct its reporters statements on Huddersfield in its issue of the previous Monday, 4 December. Hobson's letter was dated 5 December, but it also appeared with his name and official position in the *Leeds Mercury Supplement*, 15 December 1848, 11, entitled 'Social Condition of the Workers at Huddersfield'. It was despatched to the *LM* on the grounds that the paper had previously unwittingly repeated the errors of a special correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* writing on Huddersfield.

9 Cf. n.5 and p. 203, pp. 207-8

10 See letter in favour of application of the Municipal Reform Bill to Leeds, *Leeds Times*, 8 August 1835, p. 1

NATHAN HAIGH

Heather Wheeler

Nathan Haigh. Photograph in author's possession

My grandfather, Nathan Haigh, of whom I have only a dim memory, was a gentle liberal-minded, compassionate and thoughtful man who lived a fulfilling life achieved, on the basis of only limited formal education, to a great extent by developing his own abilities and interests. Besides his devotion to his family, his life was one of service to his church and to his community**.** For a time he was also on the committee of the local Equitable Industrial Society, chairman of the Golcar Nursing Association and, during the Second World War, secretary of the Comforts Fund for servicemen. Though mockingly referred to by mischievous children as 'Pious Nathan' he was widely esteemed. He was the antithesis of the stereotypical, hard-headed, 'wheer there's muck, there's brass' type of Yorkshireman**:** in no way materialistic, his demeanour and values were quite other. His life, instead, provides an example of quiet, unspectacular influence and achievement.

The major influence on his life, as arguably it was also on his community, was that of the Baptist Church. The Baptists came to the immediate Pennine area wide of Huddersfield via Lancashire, with a Chapel established at Salendine Nook in 1743. It was indirectly to this Chapel that Pole Moor Chapel, on the edge of moorland high above the Colne and Calder valleys owed its origin in 1790. In its early years it was mired in bitter and destructive theological controversy between a strict, rigid and exclusive form of Calvinism on the one hand and a more moderate, outgoing mission-minded one on the other. After the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the latter predominated and from 1830 its remarkable long-serving pastor, the Rev H. W. Holmes, was a major influence in the area for some miles around. It was to a great extent due to his efforts that the Baptist cause developed on Scapegoat Hill (growing largely in response to the need for workers in the mills below) and in the hamlets nearby. Beginning with cottage meetings, first a Sunday School was started and then in 1871, two years before Nathan was born, a Chapel, was formed.

Nathan Haigh was born in 1873 in poor circumstances (he later recalled being brought up on 'porridge and blue')[1] on Nettleton Hill, adjacent to Scapegoat Hill, Huddersfield,

1 'Blue' is skimmed milk, with the cream removed.

to William and Betty Haigh. William was a handloom weaver, turned power-loom weaver in a mill, driven from the one to the other because of the triumph of steam power. There were seven children of whom Nathan was the youngest. When he was eight another child was born, Joseph, the illegitimate son of his eldest sister**:** a source of some conflict, he remembered lying in bed shivering at the sound of angry voices downstairs. A sensitive child, he took an interest in Joseph for the rest of the latter's rather sad and short life, giving him a copy of 'Messiah' and later, when both were adults, visiting him in Storthes Hall**.**

Basic schooling was becoming more the rule by this time (while his father could read and write, his mother was illiterate) and Scapegoat Hill had a Baptist-founded school, built just after the formation of the Chapel between 1872 and 1874, just in time for the 1870 Education Act to which it conformed by re-opening with a certificated head teacher in 1875. A new head teacher, Andrew Taylor, was appointed in 1877 and stayed until his retirement in 1920, giving stability and proving far sighted and influential. All this was timely for young Nathan, who was admitted to the school, aged five, in 1878.

Postcard showing Scape Goat Hill Baptist Chapel.
In author's possession

Postcard showing Scape Goat Hill Baptist Chapel interior in author's possession

He was an apt pupil, keen to learn and Taylor took an interest in him, encouraging him to become a pupil-teacher once he had reached Standard VI in 1886.[2] Few children stayed at school beyond the age of 12 or 13, most leaving to work in the woollen mills. Just occasionally one went on from Scape to Longwood Grammar School. This apparently was never entertained for Nathan and indeed, whether influenced by his parents, his older brother or his own conscience he never took the opportunity offered to him of becoming a pupil teacher which might have led to a life in teaching. Instead, in 1887 just before his 14th birthday he left school and 'commenced to work'. He was working in a woollen mill as a twister by 1891 and subsequently became a power-loom weaver like his father.

2 Standards I - VI or VII were the measures of Attainment used in Elementary Schools.

School and Chapel were, besides his family, the nurturing influences of his childhood. His father had been baptised at Pole Moor in 1856, his grandmother and two uncles soon afterwards. Here too Nathan's birth was recorded by Rev. Holmes, his last entry in the Birth Register before his retirement in 1874. William transferred his membership from Pole Moor to Scape in 1876 and it would have been here that Nathan attended Sunday School and Chapel Services, before being baptised aged 16. He soon became a Sunday School Teacher himself and leader of the Young Men's Bible Class.

After his father's death in 1891, he was made a deacon of the chapel in his place. Young for such a position and apparently doubting his own worth, he was warmly reassured by the minister, Revd T. R. Lewis.[3] In 1899 Nathan was asked for the first time to take a morning service at the Chapel and this led to his becoming a lifelong lay-preacher travelling widely about the district to chapels, both Methodist and Baptist, as far away as the Calder Valley. To fit himself to this he took correspondence courses. Not content with this and perhaps already determined not to resign himself to life in the mill, he took evening classes at one time or another at both Longwood Grammar School and Huddersfield Technical School.[4] Meanwhile he was married, in 1899, to a young woman from the Chapel, Mary Hannah Singleton. She had also been educated at Scape School, though rather intermittently and she had left to work, like him, in a mill having reached only Standard III. This was probably more to do with a lack of consistency in her schooling, perhaps because she was needed to help at home, rather than any lack of aptitude and she proved a capable and shrewd life-long companion.

They had a family of six children between 1900 and 1909 - all girls. During this time they lived in a succession of four different houses, all relatively small**;** with a growing family, together with Edward, Mary Hannah's brother, who lived with them until his death in 1924, they must have felt increasingly crowded. Their first home, at Scape, was called Waterhouse**;** Nathan renamed it 'Aenon' after the place where John baptised his followers.[5] Following a disagreement at the Chapel causing a transfer to Milnsbridge they moved to a house in a new terrace, East Street, in Golcar, but unable to afford the rent soon had to move again. The next, the most inconvenient of their houses, was in another, older terrace, Nettle Hall. Built into a steep hillside it had an outside washhouse at the rear on a level with the bedrooms and reached by a flight of stone steps.

Nathan and Mary Hannah with daughters Lillian and Florence. Photograph in author's possession

It was while they were in Golcar that Nathan made a principled and potentially sacrificial stand against the Balfour Education Act (1902). This made provision for denominational religious instruction for voluntary schools. Non-Conformists nation-wide objected to the Act. Many took part

3 In a letter to N. H. dated 1891

4 Founded as such in 1885, it became the Technical College in 1896 (and later the University of Huddersfield)

5 Gospel of John, 3:23

Nathan and Mary Hannah with their six daughters. Photograph in author's possession

in passive resistance, led by the Baptist, John Clifford, by refusing to pay their rates. Nathan was one of these and consequently received a visit from the police. His little daughter feared her father would be taken away to prison but instead, the lesser penalty of distraint of goods was imposed - in this case a prized black marble clock, later returned.

The eldest daughter, Lilian, was born at Aenon, four more in Golcar and the last, Mildred, back at Scape, (the disagreement at Chapel now resolved) at Upper Haughs. Mildred later recalled having asked her father whether he was disappointed that she was a girl. With gentle honesty he had replied 'perhaps just a little, but only for a very short time'. It was at Scape that the greater part of their childhood was spent. Though better off than Nathan had been as a child, the family remained poor. There was plenty of home-baked bread and each week they had a Sunday roast, but it seems only Nathan ever had a boiled egg. The children stood for meals, there being only four dining chairs.

Nathan's investment in evening classes enabled him, after twenty years, to escape from the long hours of mill work. In 1907 he was appointed Schools' Attendance Officer, enabling him to work if not directly in education, at least on its fringes for the rest of his working life. Education until age 14 was by this time compulsory but not universally accepted**;** his work was likely to have been with reluctant parents as much as with truanting children.[6] He now kept all his papers in a cupboard and had a large kneehole desk for his work, on the landing at the top of the stairs for want of anywhere else.

6 The popular designation for his role was 'whipper-in'!

His new position gave him longer holidays than the annual one week for textile workers and in 1909 he permitted himself one notable indulgence - a ten-day bicycle tour, alone, up to the Lake District and the Borders. He and his wife had gone on honeymoon but other than this the, nearest the family got to going away on holiday was occasional visits by Mary Hannah to Blackpool, taking with her one or two of the children. On this unique occasion, Nathan cycled over the hill to Halifax and through the Dales to the Lake District. He went on into Scotland via Gretna Green and reached Galashiels before returning by a more easterly route via Newcastle, Durham and Harrogate. He kept a diary, written in pencil in a small notebook, but so brief as to be rather frustrating for a twenty-first century reader! He did record his visits to places of interest, however, such as the cathedrals of Carlisle, Durham and Ripon, to Walter Scott's monument at Selkirk and to Melrose Abbey. He enjoyed the often-dramatic landscape he passed through, in the Dales and the Lakes as well as in Scotland. He noticed flowers and animals such as a red squirrel he disturbed on the deserted road and was interested to talk to people he met. There was just one day when he did not move on - the Sunday - when he attended a service both morning and evening.

His last entry in his diary referred to 'a most pleasant holiday'. It came, however, at a price that almost cost him his life**;** soon after his return he fell ill with typhoid fever possibly contracted from one of the drinks of milk he had had. So ill was he that some of the children were sent away, one to stay with Uncle David and Aunt Miriam. It must have been a difficult and very anxious time for them all**;** it was only two months later that Mildred was born.

Fortunately for the family he did recover and his life was now settled on an even keel. Besides his contribution to the Chapel already mentioned, he was for many years Church Secretary but his influence was wider than this**;** he was on the committee of the Yorkshire Lay Preachers' Association and for a year its President as well as, in 1930, President of the Huddersfield and District Baptist Council and also on the committees of both the Yorkshire Baptist Association and the Manchester Baptist College which trained men for the Ministry.

Nathan's love of music equalled his love of learning**;** again this was something he owed to the Chapel. In its early days it had no choir but it did have a 'singing pew' from which the hymn singing was led. He had a good tenor voice and as a young man attended singing classes taken by his self-taught Uncle Ben in his own home. With nothing more than a tuning fork and an open drawer as music stand he taught young lads to read music. A kindly individual, steeped in the Old Testament, he and his nephew formed a close friendship, the latter writing an appreciative article about him in the *Colne Valley Guardian* for his 80th birthday.

Nathan also taught himself to play the piano and later gave piano lessons to individual pupils. Eventually the Chapel did have a choir and Nathan became its choirmaster, interrupted only by the few years he went to Milnsbridge Chapel. By the time he returned a handsome new chapel had been built complete with indoor baptistry, organ,

choir-seating and music stands.[7] He remained choirmaster until his youngest daughter, Mildred, took over in about 1930. A photograph, of about 1913, shows the choir some 42 strong with himself as conductor in the centre. Over the years they gave many performances of oratorio such as Mendelssohn's 'Elijah', Haydn's 'Creation' and not only Handel's 'Messiah' but also 'Israel in Egypt', 'Judas Maccabeus' and 'Samson'. It was singers from Chapel choirs such as this that provided much of the membership of the renowned Huddersfield Choral Society. It is perhaps surprising that Nathan never sang with them himself**;** perhaps there were too many other demands on his time. He did, however sing in the Leeds Festival Chorus, which was a triennial event. Mildred remembered enjoying hearing him practising, only years later recognising what he had been singing as, for example, Verdi's 'Requiem'.

As a father Nathan took great interest in his daughters. He would take them for walks on the nearby moorland and point out landmarks**;** he used to draw them maps to help them find their way on various errands. As a family they would sing round the piano on Saturday evenings, Mary Hannah a rich alto, the children soprano and Nathan, tenor. Besides the usual hymns they sang folk songs, such as 'Killarney' and 'Bonnie Mary of Argyle'. He taught all his daughters to play the piano**;** the youngest, recalling that he had influenced her more than anyone else, remembered how he helped her learn by beating time on her back. While discipline was firm, it never seems to have been harsh**:** when two of the girls once scribbled on a book of pictures of biblical scenes he had given them to look at his reaction was hurt and upset rather than anger.

Nathan considered education to be important for girls no less than boys. He saw all six through secondary education in Huddersfield. Five went to Greenhead High School, founded only in 1909. All of them would have done so, had not one, more as a result of eccentricity than lack of ability, failed the scholarship examination**.** She went instead to Hillhouse Higher Elementary. Just how unusual this was is shown in the Scapegoat Hill School's Admissions Register. In the last years of the nineteenth century no girls went on to secondary school but this began to change in the early 1900s. Between 1904 and 1919, nine girls went on to school in town, seven of them to Greenhead. Of the seven, five were the Haigh sisters.

Higher Education was an even less likely destination, but Eva and Ruth went on to University and Mildred to Teacher Training College, followed by a year at the Royal Academy in London. Lilian, conscious of the family's tight financial circumstances and of her five younger sisters went to work instead at the age of 16 or 17 in the National Provincial Bank, where she subsequently rose to the highest position possible at the time for a woman. The other two took office jobs.

Nathan escaped direct involvement in the First World War. One of his daughters recalled watching an open-air recruitment session on the Hill at which her father was present and being afraid in case he should volunteer. Two in the crowd did join up but whether or not he considered it, Nathan did not. Already just over 40 he was too old when, in 1916, conscription was introduced.

7 Opened 23 March 1900

Probably before the war ended the family moved house for the last time, just down the lane to Oak View, a short terrace of houses, in Swallow Lane, Golcar, with earth closets in the back yard. Here, though perhaps not until his Uncle Edward's death in 1924, Nathan had a small study, where he could work and keep the books he had acquired. He had bought a good many over the years, most of them second-hand - a mixture of religious and theological texts but also ones of more general interest including Shakespeare and poetry, such as the Complete Works of Wordsworth.

While living at the at Oak View, Nathan wrote a book, *A History of Scapegoat Hill Baptist Chapel*.[8] It was written as a souvenir to mark the fifty years since its formation. Initiated some years earlier as a committee enterprise, Nathan was chosen to write it. A narrative of its origins and progress under its various ministers, as well as of the school, its serious message was always central, though it was not without its lighter side and touches of humour. It reveals a wide general knowledge and along with many a biblical reference there are also literary quotations, for example from Scott's 'Lay of the Last Minstrel'**:** 'If thou wouldst fair Melrose view aright,/ Go visit it by pale moonlight', no doubt recalling his own visit in 1909. A surprising omission is that there

Holiday postcard from Rhyl. Photograph in author's possession.

8 N. Haigh *A History of Scapegoat Hill Baptist Chapel,* Huddersfield, B. Riley & Co, 1921. This is available on the Huddersfield Exposed website: https://huddersfield.exposed/wiki/A_Short_History_of_the_Baptist_Church,_Scapegoat_Hill_(1921)_by_Nathan_Haigh

are only passing references to the choir. The book had a widespread sale in the immediate area and copies were to be found on local bookshelves throughout the century.

Nathan and Mary Hannah in later life. Photograph in author's possession.

Later in life Nathan and Mary Hannah were more comfortably off. By the early 1930s they had been able to purchase their house (which at some stage had had an upstairs bathroom added) from their now elderly landlady, a sister of Nathan's sister-in-law.[9] They were also able to take holidays to such resorts as Rhyl. Nathan retired in 1938, receiving, appropriately, a bookcase in recognition of his years of service to the Education Committee. At the presentation he said characteristically that he planned to occupy his time with music, reading and church work. Mary Hannah's death in 1940 would have been a grievous blow, but Mildred, now a teacher continued, with her new husband, to live at home. Nathan's health had been failing for some time and he did not live to see the end of the war, dying in 1943. Active to the last, he had just received a prize for an article in the Baptist Times: 'How I write my sermons'.

Scape Baptist Chapel served the village community and became to a great extent its centre and focus contributing to its social as well as spiritual life. In addition to Sunday worship and weekday prayer meetings as well as the all-important school, there were Christmas Day Bazaars, Whit Walkouts, led by the Band, choral concerts, dramatic productions and even a tennis court. This was the environment which nurtured Nathan Haigh and which he in turn came to serve, as well as the wider community, so well.

9 As evidenced by informal receipts 1929 - 1932 on scraps of exercise paper and signed over a 1d stamp

CHANGING FARMING COMMUNITIES IN THE HUDDERSFIELD ENVIRONS, 1900-2018

Don Jones with Jo Stanley

Glamping yurts, farm shops, indoor equestrian arenas, charming rural nooks in old mistals: this article covers the pattern of twentieth century local agriculture and its impact on the landscape up to today. It shows how the declining agricultural industry led to farm buildings changing uses, a trend which the main author of this article has documented over the last 30 years.

The handful of local farmers still struggling to survive today have diversified to make a living from the land. But their other businesses are very different to those detailed in the last issue of *HLHS Journal,* which looked at the period 1841-1901 and the rise of milk producer-retailers and their links with the textile industry.

Gentrification and the digital revolution has brought the ending of horny-handed, mucky, smelly rural production as it had been for centuries. Gone are corrugated iron roofs and rusty discarded machinery; there's nary a clucking chicken in sight – let alone its warm eggs and messy droppings. Instead there's the establishing of beautiful glassed-in architect-designed spaces with names like 'The Old Dairy', landscaped gardens, and a plethora of hanging baskets full of geraniums. The changes matter because they signal telling transformations in rural ways of life.

Stirley Farm's barn being renovated in 2014 to become an educational community farm today. Picture courtesy of Green Building Store.

These pages carry on following the fortunes of two farms: their buildings and their inhabitants. There's Broadfield in Slaithwaite, initially farmed by Edmund Shaw, then the Sutcliffes, but now a private housing complex transformed by very impressive architects. And there's Stirley Farm in Almondbury which was farmed by Ben Shaw, Lydia Hurst, and later by the Gledhills and then the Kayes. Now it is Stirley Community Farm, an educational centre run by incomers, which anyone can visit. These two case studies, Stirley and Broadfield, are set in the context of farming changes in all the local townships of the area today called Kirklees.

Evidence is very different for the two periods studied. Patterns in the nineteenth century were detected through quantitative data, especially census statistics. But the twentieth-century past is mainly knowable through qualitative evidence. In this sec-

ond article our sources include *Huddersfield Examiner* reports of farm sales and trends; estate agents' promotional material; recent anecdotal evidence gathered from farmers or their relatives – especially those from Stirley pre-1960 and from Broadfield; and small businesses' websites that refer to the farms from which they originate.

Farming 1900-1925: our Almondbury and Slaithwaite farms

When the twentieth century began the number of people locally working as farmers and agricultural labourers in the greater Huddersfield area had halved, from 1851 levels. In the entire area that is now Kirklees farmers were in the low hundreds. Agricultural labourers numbered less than a hundred. Farmers selling the milk from their cows were far less than a quarter of all local farmers.

The areas of greatest farming density in 1891 had been Almondbury, Honley and Lepton. Almondbury had only a third as many farmers as in 1851, yet the overall population had increased by a third. Farming folk were only 0.4 per cent in 1901 when the population was 14,436. This was a huge drop from 1851, when the farming population was 2.48 per cent of the 9,751 population. In 1901 the Almondbury township had just 58 farmers and seven agricultural labourers. This means there were possibly about fifty farms. Fewer than ten would have been dairy farms.

What is now the educational Stirley Community Farm, at Almondbury, was then about to be the farm that supplied milk to Newsome and Berry Brow new incomers, attracted to textile industry wages. Lydia and Fred Hirst had been the tenants there in 1891. Then Edward Mathews had taken their place by 1901.

The family whose descendants would be at Stirley from the 1920s were living nearby. Agricultural labourer Arthur Swift Gledhill (1879-1923) was the grandson of a dual-occupation farmer: William Gledhill (1824-nd) had farmed 20 acres at Netherthong as well as being a mulespinner, (meaning a man, usually, who looked after the heavy 'mules', the machines for spinning cotton, which can still be seen in operation at Armley Mills today.) His son George began farming at Catterstone, possibly on his new father-in-law's farm. George's son Arthur was describing himself as a dairy farmer at 1 Cold Hill, Berry Brow by 1911. Arthur's competitors in the Almondbury dairy business included Friend Brook, John Heaton, Godfrey Sykes and Willie Brook.

In the entire Huddersfield County Borough in 1911 there were only 735 people in agriculture but 21,762 in textile fabrics: 3 per cent.[1] Arthur Gledhill continued in the much-overshadowed dairy business, supplying milk for those textile workers. He moved into Stirley Farm some time between 1911 and 1921. There he farmed until 1923, when he died very young. He left a handsome £2,439 (£140,000 in today's money), possibly as a result of his dairy business's success.

1 Persons of working age by sex and Occupational Order, Huddersfield MB/CB, 1911, *A Vision of Britain Through Time*, http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10166937/cube/OCC_ORD1911_SEX, accessed 4 August 2018

Milk delivery by women pushing 'prams' in WW1. Lord Rayleigh's Farms, Essex. Photo in author's possession.

Many milk dealers were delivering their product – often still warm from the cow – in churns or pails at that time. It was transported on a kind of hand-pushed three-wheeled pram or a horse-drawn 'milk float.' From the big metal two-gallon delivery cans the milk was sometimes transferred into smaller cans. This made it easier for the delivery woman or man to carry it to the customers' homes. On the doorstep milk was measured out using a pint (668ml) or gill (142 ml) ladle and put in the customer's own jug (which was covered by their beaded doily). Arthur and his colleagues did not yet have to face the expense of installing bottling machinery and changing farm buildings to accommodate it; the concept of a hygienic sealed doorstep pinta in returnable glass bottle would not arrive for a few decades.

By contrast to Almondbury the tiny hamlet of Lingards (where Broadfield Farm lay) had been incorporated by Slaithwaite by 1901, so we can no longer detect changes by way of the census. But there appears to be remarkable continuity at Broadfield. By 1911 farmer Nathan Sutcliffe was still there, as he had been since 1857. Still working, he was now calling himself a 'farmer and cattle dealer'. He had just one labourer. His four children were gone. His son Norman was living next door and making a living as an urban district council labourer; the other three children were in wool. His neighbour David Dyson was a cattle dealer but no milk dealers are listed in Nathan's immediate neighbourhood.

1923–1939: Mechanisation arrives

When Arthur Gledhill died in 1923 the Stirley Farm business didn't lose momentum. Norman, his younger son, although only fourteen, took over Stirley. He continued to farm there with the help of his mother, Ethel, and his three sisters. Norman's brother Gerald, Arthur's eldest son, now seventeen, had been faming at Cattersides, probably his maternal grandfather's farm. Now seventeen, he chose to move back to Cold Hill Farm. He was to farm there until the late 1950s with, initially, his first wife, Amy and family.

It was a time when the lives of dairy farmers such as the Gledhills were becoming bureaucratised by the 1922 Milk and Dairies (Amendment) Act. Pushed by the Ministry of Health this legal change brought the compulsory testing of herds and milk. The

aim was to reduce the deaths caused by the bovine tuberculosis micro-organism often found in milk. Inspectors now called in at farms to check. A favourable result meant the local authorities would license dairy producers like Norman for one of three sorts of milk: Certified; Grade A (Tuberculin Tested); and Grade A (Pasteurised). Some dairy farmers set up pasteurizing facilities on the farm, heating the milk in batches to 62-65 degrees centigrade.

Norman Gledhill with his Manx Grand Prix trophy at Stirley, and son David, 1932. Castle Hill is in the background. Picture courtesy of Celia Gledhill.

Fortunately for Stirley's success Norman Gledhill was very at home with machinery. In his non-farm life he won the Senior Grand Prix Trophy in the Isle of Man Grand Prix races, riding a Norton motorbike. That same year, 1932, the University of Leeds, together with Yorkshire Council for Agricultural Education, commended him for his farming and produce. The diploma meant he gained a competitive edge over other Almondbury milk producers. Together with a pre-Second World War housing boom in Newsome, Berry Brow and Hall Bower this created an expanding market. His enterprise was helped by in 1935 marrying someone keen and active, Ruby Bottomley. Norman's mother was concerned that Ruby had not been reared for agricultural life, saying repeatedly 'She's not a farm girl'. But Ruby, Norman and their four children went on to provided crucial farm labour before and after school, as most farming families did.

Always go-getting, Norman took over Hall Bower Farm, about a mile away, in April 1939. He also bought a Commer van, a Dutch barn and fourteen cows from Hall Bower's then-leaseholder Harry Bowers for £290 (£15,000 in today's money). Norman's mother and his sister Phyllis moved into the Hall Bower farm house. His sisters Hilda and Dorothy had married in 1934; Hilda and her husband Harry Griffiths also had a milk round, from Lower Houses. Norman and Ruby lived with their expanding family at nearby Stirley and also farmed Hall Bower. Barry Rhodes, Norman's nephew, remembers 'Farming had become Norman's only occupation and passion.' His farm at Hall Bower was used for keeping 'dry' cows (that is, cows having a few months off from lactating, while in calf. He was very insistent that hard working animals deserved proper rest. But no cows were known by name, just number such as 'A1', except for Norman's daughters' favourites.

At some point before WW2 Stirley turned to bottling its milk. It was common for farmers to have bottles printed with their name and address and the words: 'From our

Attested herd' beneath. Bottles were topped with a thin cardboard disc, not yet a foil cap, which would also advertise the farm. Bottling milk on the farm was both a healthier and more efficient method of delivery. The process was mechanical and manual: someone placed two bottles at a time under a large container with two spouts, removed them when full and put the caps on by hand. Efficiency was further helped by their mechanised transport. A horse may know the route and not consume petrol, but its head has to be held to stop it straying. By contrast, the deliverer in a van could just pull on the brake.

In 1932 Ridley Fletcher (born 1904) took over Broadfield Farm from neighbour David Dyson, who had married Nathan Sutcliffe's daughter. As a lad Ridley had worked for the 80-year-old Nathan, driving the Irish cattle Nathan imported, up Varley Road from Slaithwaite station. Ridley grew up to be a tinsmith. Then at 28 he turned to farming at Broadfield. He tried to start a milk round, which was hard because it was normal to instead buy an existing round. Initially he was so poor he had to have the phone taken out. To save costs he moved his wife and children in with his married sister. His dairymen rivals in those competitive times shunned him. Enterprisingly, he succeeded by innovating evening deliveries. This meant that milk didn't have to stand, going off, on the doorsteps of those houses where no-one was home in the 9am-midday period (when milk was usually delivered).

WW2 to 1999: From milk pails to plastic cartons

Stirley Farm in the 1939-45 war had a herd of at least 28 milking cows and seven or eight dry cows. Most local farms in that period had Friesians. But Stirley had Ayrshires and British Dairy Shorthorns, as well as a Jersey. These breeds yielded less milk (four to four-and-a-half gallons per day) but the butterfat and protein content was higher than 'blue milk'. That richer milk made Norman's business popular with discerning customers. Milk rounds were rationalised in the war, to save petrol. Roundsmen swapped customers so that they didn't have to go the outlying areas but there was a lot of false claiming, along the lines of 'I'm giving you twenty "three-pint customers" so I need a fair exchange, not all these one-pint customers', reports John Fletcher.

Wartime farming relied upon new sorts of labourers to replace men who'd gone to war. Stirley had the help of Prisoners of War, two Germans and one Italian. Two women from Women's Land Army came: Meaghan Sykes from a Golcar pub, and Lily. They lived in, adding to the mouths Ruby had to feed. These extra hands did the usual endless work of dairy farms included clearing out the mucky straw from mistals, bringing in fresh hay, providing food, looking after calves, and cleansing the milking area. POWs often stayed on after war's end to help the country get back to its feet again. The German POWs on farms were made to remain in the UK until 1949. This is now thought to be a war crime. However, at Stirley they had settled in rather happily, and enjoyed evading the dangers of war. Not everyone wanted to return to bomb-damaged and starving home countries.

In the 1950s the farms farmed by Norman and Gerald Gledhill produced and sold milk.

They sold it as milkmen on their two domestic rounds, and also took surplus to the Co-Op Dairy in Huddersfield. The Co-Op was one of the big four UK dairies in 1950, along with United Dairies, Cow & Gate, and Express and by then operating tankers, which mixed the milk from many farms, disconcerting the proud producers.

At Stirley Ruby Gledhill did the main domestic delivery round by petrol-driven Bedford van. Later she used the Morris Minor pick-up, which has an open top. It was loaded with ten metal crates, each crate containing 20 bottles. Norman did the smaller round, going in the opposite direction to Berry Brow. When the law changed, forcing retailers to use covered vehicles, people became used to seeing 'milk floats', meaning slow-moving, quiet, open-sided 'vans', with three or four wheels, powered by electric batteries.

Huddersfield County Borough's Directory showed there were only a handful of farmers in the entire area by 1958. It's possible that the recorded number was so small because people didn't want to pay out for being in the directory, and so were excluded. Four were listed as dairy farmers and 26 were farmers. This was down from 77 in *Blair's Directory* of 1948 (again, a publication that charged people for being listed, meaning it was not an accurate summary of the total).

Small dairy farmers' livelihoods nationwide had been saved by the Milk Marketing Board, which began in 1933. It bought up excess milk, thereby guaranteeing dairy producers a minimum price for all they produced. Now the MMB became increasingly active because the supply of milk was outpacing demand, causing fluctuations in the price dairy farmers could get. One effect of this on the Gledhills in this difficult period was that Gerald stopped trying to farm. He moved from Cold Hill Farm to York, where the land was more fertile. Mr Skelton, the Gledhill's main rival for the local milk delivery business, replaced him at Cold Hill. Another effect was that Ridley Fletcher now got his cows inseminated by injected sperm obtained via the MMB, rather than borrowing a bull.

Celia Gledhill in 2019 wearing one of her MMB sashes from 1960. Picture by Jo Stanley.

A further effect was that milk consumption was promoted through new sorts of publicity: Ruby and Norman's daughter Celia became the MMB's Dairy Maid of Yorkshire, 1960 and Dairy Princess of Leeds 1961. She took part in the national finals in London too, and sometimes deputised for Her Majesty the Dairy Queen herself. Many industries annually crowned princesses and queens at the time, such as cotton queens, as the 2018 exhibition at Armley Mills showed.

Norman Gledhill died in December 1960. Sons were natural successors in farming. But Norman and Ruby's son David was not interested. He insisted they sell up and he went back to New Zealand. The youngest daughter, Angela, would have been the obvious person to take over, as she was so keen on farming. It could have worked, as Ruby was still there to help. Also they were able to afford a farm labourer's help. But Angela had only just left school, and was female. In the past the only women who were called 'farmers' were widows. Ruby said twenty years later that if she'd realized how right Angela was for the work she (Ruby) would have gone ahead with this unusual move. Wilf Kaye, a Farnley Tyas farmer and milkman who had had a smaller round, moved in straight away. He, like Mr Skelton, had been another of Norman's competitors. Wilf now produced and bottled the milk for Ruby's round, but didn't deliver, which was now a separate business. Ruby still saw herself as the boss and he expressed some tension about working with critical women who had authority.

As the milk producer Wilf moved into Stirley Farm in 1961 and Ruby, Celia and Angela initially lived in one of the row of white dwellings up above: Stirley Cottages. Angela began milking full-time for Wilf; she'd learned to milk by the age of three. She was much in demand as a relief milker (the term 'dairy maid' was no long used), throughout the UK. Eventually she settled to working for Mrs Webb, a dairy proprietor in Stony Stratford, Bedfordshire. During Wilf's tenure a large modern milking parlour was built to the west of the old farm, making Arthur's mistals redundant.

In 1974, after less than fifteen years of Wilf's reign, Stirley Farm became the property of Kirklees Council when the local government changes meant Huddersfield became a part of Kirklees Metropolitan District. This was the start of a very difficult time all round for agriculture. Colne Valley farms were especially hit as the thin, peaty acid soil had always meant that it was only possible to farm livestock. But sheep were no longer needed for fleeces because wool was often imported from Australia anyway. Plus there was the decline in the UK textile industry, especially with the turn towards synthetic fibres such as Crimplene, the switch from blankets to duvets, plus the rise of Indian textile production for export. However, the specialist market emerged in a small-scale way from the 1970s with the selling of yarn from Jacob sheep, for example. Elysium farm at Holmfirth has a facebook page that shows the semi-derelict building that they took over then; it now sells rare Soay mutton and castrated rams as companion pets. Not only can a farm be a stud. It can also be a centre offering opportunities to walk the woodlands with alpacas, a kind of land-based recreation equivalent to swimming with dolphins.

By contrast, at Broadfield, Ridley Fletcher was building up his milk round in the 1940s and 1950s. As he became better known he attracted more customers and progressed to doing only morning deliveries. It was slowly taking off to become a 20-gallon round, the product of twelve milking cows. He also looked after his hens. His wife made dresses and bred poodles as a way to supplement the income. Although resourceful she need not do the usual typical farmer's wife tasks such as suckling calves, feeding the animals and milking. 'She was a real lady's lady,' said her son John, explaining she had

worked at *the* ladies' outfitters in Slaithwaite, Miss Tinker's in Lewisham Road.

Milk was delivered by a three-wheeled van but also by horse and cart at times. Ridley liked to look smart for the customers so he wore a fawn milking smock under his tweed jacket, and breeches with polished leather gaiters over boots. He bought a milking machine but found it so time-consuming that he reverted to hand-milking.

The 20-gallon a day milk round, meaning the list of customers, was sold to John Garside at neighbouring Hey Farm, over Bradley Brook the other side of the valley, for £400 in 1963. This was based on £20 per gallon of milk and the final sum would have been enough to buy a cottage to retire to. Through the late 60s, 70s and 80s Ridley and his son John Fletcher made the farm viable by selling the milk wholesale, via the Milk Marketing Board and raising suckling. John, then 28 had also begun working full-time as a British Telecom engineer from 1963.

John Fletcher in 2019, in what was one of the old barns, now his daughter's home, demonstrating with a hand-held capper how to put the foil cap on one of Broadfield Farm's remaining printed bottles. Picture by Jo Stanley.

Initially their milk, like that from Stirley, went to the Huddersfield Co-op Dairy, which is where the Wilko car park now is. The Co-op gave up in the late 1960s. Broadfield milk was sent instead to the Dickinson brothers at Longley Farm, near Holmfirth. The Longley business had just begun in 1948 and was a long way from being so famous that it now has a Wikipedia entry. In 1983 John Fletcher, then 48, left his British Telecom job and took over from Ridley. John finally gave up farming in 2002. But his fingers still know exactly how to make that milking motion - using both hands in an alternating, pulsing motion. And he can still cap a bottle tight enough to stop leakages.

2000 to today: farm shops and yurts

The four main reasons for local dairy farming's decline were European Economic Community membership; the growing dominance of big producers; new food distribution and consumption patterns, including pasteurisation, which was done centrally by mixing milk from many farms and much resisted; and Foot-and-Mouth Disease outbreaks. Britain's 1973 entry into the European Economic Community (later known as the European Union) brought the introduction of milk quotas and the ending of the Milk Marketing Board. This meant dairy farmers found it increasingly difficult to sustain a living solely from milk production, especially if they only kept a small herd (under fifteen).

Dairy farmers now had to negotiate favourable personal contracts with powerful dairy companies. However, firms such as Associated Dairies were able to make economies of scale and produce many gallons of pasteurised milk. Also their professional sales staff could negotiate advantageous deals with supermarkets, which sold milk so cheaply that producer-retailing became barely viable for small operators. Indeed, the new type of containers sold in supermarkets (waxed cartons, and opaque polythene jugs) would have required expensive investment in machinery at a time when retail milk prices were being slashed. Globalisation brought the widespread importation of foods, containerised. And consumers became used to getting non-seasonal foods, cheaply, through chains like Aldi and Lidl (whose first store opened in the UK in 1994). Consumers could now pick up a carton of cheap skimmed milk from the local garage or Tesco Express at midnight. Indeed, did they even drink cows' milk anymore, in an increasingly vegetarian, and lactose-intolerant, culture where plant-based substitutes took over?

Stirley Farm died for these reasons and more. Possibly when Wilf Kaye retired no new tenant had the heart to take on dairy farming in such impossible business circumstances. And they might well have been swiftly put out of business by the Foot and Mouth Disease outbreak in 2001. This brought the culling of disease-free herds too. It was the end of an already-soul-destroying line for many local dairy farmers. The Gledhills' warmly-appreciated neighbour, Robert Tait of Tait Storage and Removals, looked after the empty Stirley, preventing squatters moving in. Stirley had been standing derelict for twenty or thirty years, when it was first photographed by this article's main author, Don Jones, in 2003. The *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal* recorded the tragedy that was visible all around Stirley in the year 2002/3. It was:

> the end of an era for three farms in the Berry Brow/Newsome area. Goodham Farm is now empty, strangely silent without the cattle and animals around. The Skeltons have finished farming at Cold Hill Farm and the Coates family have given up farming and gone into holiday cottages... The hillside from Berry Brow to Castle Hill has looked very empty this year without the cattle roaming the fields and without the haymaking being done, the grass has gone to seed. The only farming that is being done in a small way is at Lower Park Farm. The difference [between]... their green fields and the other empty fields is considerable.[2]

Then, in 2003, the Yorkshire Wildlife Trust intervened at Stirley. With support from the Big Lottery Fund it started creating a community farm.[3] The YWT's idea was to involve local people, interesting them in food production for personal consumption. The Future Jobs Fund briefly funded some posts. By 2011 the *Yorkshire Post* mourned that 'Derelict is a barely adequate word for Stirley Farm'. Manager Ian Smart was only one of two full-time workers there, plus some conservation-keen volunteers, to make over the 'collapsed barns, broken roadways and weed-infested pastures.'[4] In a

2 'The End Of An Era: The Stone Mason's Yard - Berry Brow', *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal*, 2004
3 *Huddersfield Examiner*, 1 June 2014
4 'Run down Hillside Farm being Brought Back to Life', *Yorkshire Post*, 20 August 2011

portacabin the YWT signed a 25-year lease with £300,000-worth of funding from the Veolia Environmental Trust, which channels money made by the waste management company. The Lottery Fund paid the other half of the £600,000 needed. 'With farming subsidies and stewardship payments on top of the meat sales, income should eventually be around £120,000, to set against running costs of £150,000 the *Post* explained.

Stirley's changes succeeded. By 2015, after green conversions, this inspiring showpiece displayed its first harvest. Its low-energy educational centre, now christened the Crea8 Barn, is built from one of Norman Gledhill's derelict barns.[5] Messy outdoor play was offered to under-fives in Nature Tots' sessions. In 2018 Stirley Community Farm was running events on sustainable farming and offering opportunities for viewing new calves. It took part in many initiatives designed to help town-reared folk understand the countryside, such as National Meadow Day in July. And it offered visitors the opportunity of meeting real farmers and taking a selfie of themselves near a (safely static) tractor. Anyone in the world can virtually visit this farm via Twitter and Facebook. [6]

Meanwhile, over in Lingards, attempts to farm Broadfield had ended as the twenty-first century began. In September 2002, John Ridley Fletcher, the last of the Broadfield farmers, on his retirement gained planning permission to demolish and reuse the farm buildings. John put up for sale three tractors, various machines and tools in June 2003. He sold the buildings to Uppermill property developer Derek Legg, who worked with Honley architect Peter Holleworth, and whose conversions John subsequently liked very much. And today four impressive architect-designed dwellings grace the site.

Although no-one farms anymore this is not an alienated world of incomers. One of the residents is a descendent of Richard Shaw and Nathan Sutcliffe, the tenants of the 1850s and possibly earlier. She lives in part of the original Elizabethan house of 1696. Several of those who moved in were fairly local, or in love with the area and the converted buildings; they were not calculating opportunistic strangers. Everyone living there today gets on so well that they go out for a monthly pub meal together. John Fletcher lives very near, at Yew Tree. He often visits his daughter who has moved into what was once of the barns, which had labourers' accommodation above. The name Tanner's Field honours the old extra enterprise.

Why the difference between the two farms? At Stirley the continuity of leaseholders producing and delivering milk stopped because there was no male heir or son-in-law to take over. The Ramsdens had sold Stirley Farm to the County Borough of Huddersfield in 1920. This was passed to Kirklees Council in 1974 and it is probably the tough market conditions that led to end of milk production there. Though it fell into disrepair, the Council was in a position to sell it to the Yorkshire Wildlife Trust in 2003. Broadfield, by contrast, stayed largely in the hands of the same Dartmouth tenants, who set up other paid initiatives - such as pet grooming and employment away from the farm - which kept the farm going until the final farmer, John Fletcher, retired.

5 'Huddersfield Design Awards', *Huddersfield Examiner*, 4 March 2015

6 Stirley Community Farm now has a website (https://tinyurl.com/Stirley-YWT) and a Facebook site (https://www.facebook.com/YWTStirley/) and twitter account: @ywtstirleyfarm

Fighting back

Some local farmers moved on constructively; it was more like 'necessary moving creatively with the times, as usual' than 'fighting off a setback they'd never had before'. Younger ones turned to new dairy farming practices, which meant investment and high-tech changes in farm buildings. Other farmers diversified, as so many of the 'dual occupation' farmers described in our first article always had.

Science and funding are helping Neil Brigg, who took over the Broadbents' old Far Worts Hill Farm, Slaithwaite. He began in 1976 and by 2018 he was hoping to survive the crisis by taking milk directly to consumers, including coffee shops. He told the *Huddersfield Examiner* 'there used to be seven farms within two miles of us, but the last one gave up five years ago. It's a very hard industry. Farmers who sell to big retailers aren't even covering their costs.'

Two of Neil's scientific approaches include fitting each one of his 100 Holstein Friesian cows with a pedometer which will help him improve yield, and setting up a high-tech self-milking system. Neil and his son, Sam, also plan to continue allowing the cows to roam outdoors on Pole Moor, on the opposite side of the valley from Lingards.[7]

New technology such as poly tunnels and hydroponics also mean that now our area can actually turn to arable farming to some degree. Small farms have been subsumed into big farms, which have also diversified so that farmers chose several sidelines to help them survive. They rent or sell their land as sites of radio masts, wind farms or for commercial storage. Enterprising farmers run haulage businesses, garaging their high-tech truck in the old barns.

Popular ways of diversifying include setting up farm shops. At Ainley Place, which had produced milk for 80 years, farmer Michael Sykes was determinedly trying to buck the 'supemarketisation' trend. He told the *Huddersfield Examiner* in 2004: 'Times are difficult for dairy farmers, over the past twenty years doorstep trade has died off. It used to account for 95 per cent of trade, now it's down to 30 per cent... In the Colne valley there used to be 20 producers, now there are four of us left'. So the business of M. and M. Sykes began to not only sell others' food but make its own cream and ice cream.[8]

Relatedly, Bolster Moor Farm Shop and Coffee Shop at Golcar grew out of cousins Simon Haigh's and Andrew Whitwam's recognition in 2009 that 'our family poultry farm needed to diversify if it was to provide us with an income and a future'. They had been working as prize-winning pie makers and in business as Hinchliffe Butchers at Netherton Moor. Now officially they run 'Yorkshire's best café' , which offers cook-at-home curries in oven-friendly containers, as well as locally-sourced produce.[9]

7 'Meet the dairy farmer who tracks his cows' wellbeing with pedometers,' *Huddersfield Examiner,* 24 June 2018, https://www.examinerlive.co.uk/news/west-yorkshire-news/meet-dairy-farmer-who-tracks-14816659, accessed 14 November 2018.

8 *Huddersfield Examiner*, 16 April 2004.

9 *Bolster Moor Farm Shop*, https://golcar.cylex-uk.co.uk/company/bolster-moor-farm-shop-17918926.html

Some of the ways farmers are trying to buck the downward trend, and provide themselves with an income and viable premises in old age, include turning farm outbuildings into holiday lets or converting them into separate homes that can be sold off. Time and money have to be invested; the council charges £425 for processing planning applications and architects' fees are around £15,000.

Fortunately the Kirklees area is so popular with holidaymakers that some local people who do Airbnb find they can let all year round, at prices from £44 per night at Haddon Farm at South Crosland Moor. Hot tubs are common, glamping yurts a novelty, and Wi-Fi, of course, de rigueur.

Conclusion: our valleys are still green but...

Long-term study of farm use in the Huddersfield environs shows two distinct trends. First, that the people who lived there have always diversified into ancillary occupations in order to survive. Second, that farms were almost always communities, and ever-changing ones. They were not just the home-based business of an unbroken line of farmers of the same name. Instead they were co-operative and not very hierarchical clusters of several families, including sons-in-law, living together to various degrees, sometimes harnessed in the common struggle to survive and use the land as appropriately as possible in the drastically changing external circumstances.

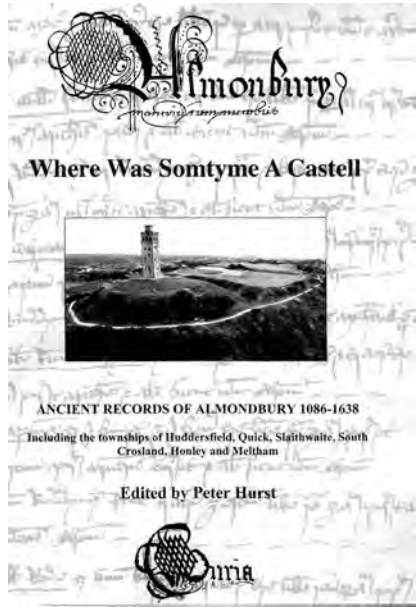
The evisceration of the farming community by the power of big business and the disappearance of small independent family farms, like Broadfield and Stirley, is far from being simply something about which sentimentalists wring their nostalgic hands and write elegies. It is a matter of concern to cash-strapped local and national authorities, such as DEFRA (the Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs), who have no funds to support farmers. No farmer can expect help when national government's cuts means Kirklees had a shortfall in resources of £129 million in the period 2011-17. A further £104 million will have to be found in the period 2017-20. Any local official help given to farms will necessarily only be a small gesture indicating awareness of the problems in the agricultural community, or rather what is left of it.

But this is not a tragic situation of townie incomers and commuters wrecking the old way of life. And driving round the area still reveals many farmed fields, herds of sheep, and intact, beautiful farm houses. In 2018 you could even still get your milk delivered in recyclable bottles, by googling 'findmeamilkman.net'. Slaithwaite's Hey Knowle Farm and Samuel Brigg & Sons Farm are among those offering such a service; the Briggs' even have a website showing the unbroken production line for 'proper milk' since 1912. Laden tractors are still visible on back lanes, as well as quad bikes ridden by people determined to keep the farming aspect of their lives going. And cultivated green areas are still a large part of the Colne and Holme Valley landscape.

BOOKS NOTICES AND BOOK REVIEWS

Almondbury Where Was Somtyme A Castell: Ancient Records of Almondbury 1086-1638, Including the townships of Huddersfield, Honley, Meltham, Slaithwaite, South Crosland and Quick, Edited by Peter Hurst

Peter Hurst


Almondbury
Where Was Somtyme A Castell
ANCIENT RECORDS OF ALMONDBURY 1086-1638
Including the townships of Huddersfield, Quick, Slaithwaite, South Crosland, Honley and Meltham
Edited by Peter Hurst

Sadly, but a fact of life, many of the most ancient medieval records for Almondbury and the satellite townships have not survived the ravages of time. Many are believed to have been destroyed during the Peasants' Revolt when the Savoy Palace, home of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was burned to the ground. Others were destroyed, lost or looted during the English Civil War when Pontefract Castle was bombarded.

Fortunately, a large cache of records accompanied the sale of the Huddersfield estates including the manor of Almondbury, by the Ramsden family to Huddersfield Corporation for £1.35 million in 1920. However, and curiously, included were manor court records only of Almondbury, along with many other records associated with that manor, some of which were ancient. Surprisingly, no document regarding the sale of the manor of Almondbury by Charles I to Sir John Ramsden in 1627 was deposited. And most unusually, no copy has yet been found in the National Archives as would be essential for the sale of a Crown possession - all very strange. Possibly the Ramsden family retained this and it yet resides at Muncaster Castle. However, and of more concern, no records for the manor of Huddersfield, surely the main aspect of the sale, were deposited with the council, especially since this manor had been in the possession of the Ramsdens since 1599.

The official deed of sale for the manor of Huddersfield from the Crown was eventually located, and it is a most impressive document. Presumably the missing deed for Almondbury would be similarly attractive, and an equally desirable possession for the history of the township. Thus, it is a matter of good fortune as to what records survive. Many more records for Huddersfield could have been available had a similar cache been deposited at the time of the sale. It is difficult not to believe that manorial records for Huddersfield might yet remain in Muncaster, unless by some misfortune they

were lost or stolen after being deposited with the council, if that indeed ever occurred.

Historically, the satellite townships of Huddersfield, Honley, Meltham, Slaithwaite, South Crosland, and Quick [Saddleworth] were compelled to attend the Courts Leet of the manor of Almondbury, for breaches of minor misdemeanors and bye-laws, and for the annual election of constables and four, or two men. This connection might have been very ancient for some townships, but certainly from 1584, as precisely stated in the survey of that year, all 6 townships were compelled to attend. Thus the answers to the 1st, 8th and 9th articles of the 1584 survey are worth quoting at length:

To the firste… And theye further saye that the Towneshipps of Huddersfield, Honley, Meltham, South Crosland, Slaighwaite and Quicke doe in respect of the courte leete belonge to the sayd mannor of Allmonburye for that the several cunstables and certen men of every of the sayd towneshipps doe twice in the yeare make their suite to the said court leete houlden within the same mannor of Almondburye and there doe make presentment upon their othes of their new constables att the court leete holden at Michaelmas yearley; And of affrayes bloudes and suche other common annoyances (at both the said courte leetes) as are done and committed within the said severall townesshippes and are usuallye presentable in a courte leete.

To the 8th... theye say that there is and hath beene for the moste parte within the tyme of their remembrance two courtes kepte yearley for the queenes majestie within the saide mannor of Almondbury the one within the monethe next after Michaelmas and the other within the monethe after Easter yearely; Att the which courtes bothe matters touchinge the courte lete and also the courte baron are there dealt in.

To the 9th... they say that all the free holders and copie holders of both kyndes that hold of this mannor owe suite by tenure of their lands and are called as sutors to the said court; And alsoe that the cunstable and foure men of the townshipp of Huddersfield; The cunstable and the foure men of the towneshippe of Quicke; the cuntstable and the two men of Honley; and the cunstable and twoe men of the towneshippe of Slaghwayte are called att the said courtes twyce by the year; And do there appeare as att the court leete for presentment of their new cunstables; and of blood and fraye and other such common annoyances as are presentable ar a court leete.

Further comment on these missing records is useful as there is much confusion even now amongst local historians who believe such records yet survive, as they have seen and used them. Sir John Ramsden, from 1627 when he acquired the Manor of Almondbury, was granted the right to continue to have courts leet jurisdiction. Only some lords were granted this privilege from the monarch. Courts leet records were thus Crown records and required to be safeguarded. The satellite townships of Huddersfield, Honley, Meltham, Slaithwaite, South Crosland, and Quick were compelled to attend the Manor of Almondbury for their Courts Leet jurisdictions including the annual election of constables. The typical heading for such courts at Almondbury often conflated all jurisdictions as: Sheriff Tourn Court Leet and view of Frankpledge of the lord king and Court Baron of John Ramsden knight lord of the manor. These are the records some

local historians may have seen. From time to time, however, at Almondbury in addition to Courts Baron held with Courts Leet, special Courts Baron took place to conduct only the lord's manorial business concerning only his manor of Almondbury, which did not concern the satellite townships. All of these records indeed are noted in the 3 volumes of Almondbury manor court rolls published by the editor. Thus every manor, also separately, had jurisdiction for his own court, the Court Baron records for Huddersfield that are missing, and nobody seems to know where they might be, if indeed they might yet exist. Certainly such records also would have existed for the other five named manors - but they too appear to be missing.

Where Was Somtyme A Castell is the culmination of 12 or more years of research based on original documents in the Ramsden collection held at West Yorkshire Archive Service Kirklees [WYASK] and in the National Archives [TNA] at Kew. During this period 4 other related books have been published as part of a series of Almondbury Manor Records, all of which include records for the six satellite townships noted above. These are:

In mercy of the lord: Almondbury Manor Court rolls 1627-41 Part 1 (2010)
Homagers for the Lord Protector: Almondbury Manor Court Rolls Part 2 (2013)
Lady of the Manor: Almondbury Manor Court Rolls Part 3 (2015)
Survey of the Manor of Almondbury 1584 (2016)

Aware that the latest project would be the last for the editor in this series, more and more records were added, the result being a huge book of 470 pages. Every effort was made to include as much relevant information of the more important surviving records as possible for all the townships. It contains 57 different records from Domesday to 1638. Some of the ancient records consist of just a few lines. Others, such as surveys, are very extensive, occupying many pages, and the tax records are also substantial. In total about 1,800 individuals are named and cited about 1,700 times. There are all fully indexed. For this book the editor has returned to the original records held at WYASK or TNA, and translated them anew, especially as the small number included long ago in specialist journals are not easily accessible generally. Early records are in Latin and one in Anglo Norman, which have been translated in order to make the information available generally.

The latest book includes a short introduction, 80 pages of the records, some in colour, 214 pages of records all translated where necessary; 87 pages of reviews and analysis of the records; interesting details of 'Long Livers' in the parish [aged 70 and over] extracted from the parish registers of Almondbury 1557-1652 including 4 centenarians, and many aged 80 and 90 plus. Included are indexes of persons, places and subjects.

The book also includes some inserts of images revealing the labours of medieval tenants at work throughout the seasons. Thus readers can study the images, link these with the appropriate item in the records section of the book, and then also refer to the appropriate Reviews for further information and analysis. Interestingly, the 1425 Survey of the Manor of Almondbury consists of a parallel text in English and Latin,

such that those with an interest in translating records themselves might use this as an exemplar. Images of the entire survey are included: left hand page in English; right hand page in Latin. The translation was probably made in the mid-sixteenth century, so the English version is rendered in the vernacular language of the time, but a modern version can easily be derived.

Local and Family History researchers will find much of interest in the new book, and almost certainly will discover ancestral names amongst the 1,700 individuals noted therein. The book is a rich source of sixteenth century and seventeenth century documents containing many familial names, some prolific and some quite rare. Indeed some fourteenth and fifteenth century records provide opportunities to identify early references to many families. Readers should be aware that spelling had not yet been standardised, and many variations of names appear: some names having up to 6 variants. However, the book contains an index of persons to support the reader's investigations. Some of these are listed below.

Records include: accounts, charters, estreats, grants, quitclaims, rentals, surveys, tax records and many others. It would be too onerous to comment on each of the 57 records. Domesday [1086] includes records for all townships except Slaithwaite and Quick. Surveys include those for Almondbury for 1341, 1425, 1548, 1566, 1578, 1588, 1611, and William Senior's fascinating map survey if 1634; whilst the lay subsidies (really taxes) of 1297, 1523, and 1588, include all townships. Other Tax records include the 1322 tax of a fifteenth; 1379 Poll Tax records; the 1523, and 1545 lay subsidies for the wapentakes of Agbrigg and Morley, which include all townships. All of these records name large numbers of individuals and often their wives, for all townships. It was the poll taxes of course that famously led to the Peasants' Revolt. Also contained are many rentals concerning Almondbury and its tenants which again name many individuals.

Records exclusively for Huddersfield include a thirteenth century quitclaim; estreats for 1531 and 1532 (that is, extracts from missing Huddersfield manor court records). These name many individuals and long-forgotten places. Although brief these few records actually are very rare, as so far no manor court documents for Huddersfield appear to have survived, or are yet in private hands. Some very early (probably twelfth or thirteenth century) references to a water corn mill in Huddersfield might be noted concerning rents.

The rare 1531-2 estreats of the manor of Huddersfield provide some interesting offences committed by locals at that time. Names include: Atkynson, Batley, Broke, Chappell, Croke, Dison, Frith, Horsfall, Hoyton, Hurst, Jagger, Key, Kirkby, Midwodd, Penny, Pilkington, Ryton, Shawe, Sikes, Smyth, Stede, Swalloo, Turns. Several of those named were amerced for not attending court; several for illegally encroaching on lands; many for fishing illegally in the lord's free warren; breaking into the common pounds, trespass on the common wastes and cutting down greenery; putting too many animals onto the common pasture; diverting streams illegally; not moving hedges or mending gaps in hedges. 40 tenants were amerced a total of £5 3s 2d for these derelictions of

manorial customs and by-laws.

The 1297 Lay names 7 Huddersfield people: Dicton, Fossey, Gledholt, Hardegate, Locwode, North, Spending.

The 1379 Poll Tax cites 35 married couples and 14 single people. Names include: Annotson, Batte, de Battalay, de Bergh, Bithelone, de Blakeburne, Bothroyd, Broune, Bythebroke, Copelay, Couper, Diotson, Dison de Farnelay, Gledhowe, Grenewod, Hagh, Hardgate, Haune, Hauneson, Hudson, de Lyghtfeld, Lyghtriche, de Lyndeley, de Lythelay, Milner, Mocokes, de Myrfeld, Rose, Rayner, Slagley, Slakes, de Slaxthe, Thomasson, Walkere, Whyacre, de Wykers; various spellings and all with names of husbands and wives.

The 1523 Lay Subsidy includes 26 Huddersfield-cum-Bradley folk: Armitage, Brodley, Brooke, Cay, Chapell, Charlisworth, Cowper, Dodworth, Gawkroger, Hirst, Pilkyngton, Sleydes.

And the 1543/5 Lay Subsidy includes 31 individuals for Huddersfield: Batley, Blackburn, Brook, Cley, Cowper, Gibson, Hirst, Horsfall, Key, Shay, Stede, Sykkes.

Some families were prolific, and noted several times, Brook(e)s perhaps the most so. Various other references occur with respect to the place and to the people.

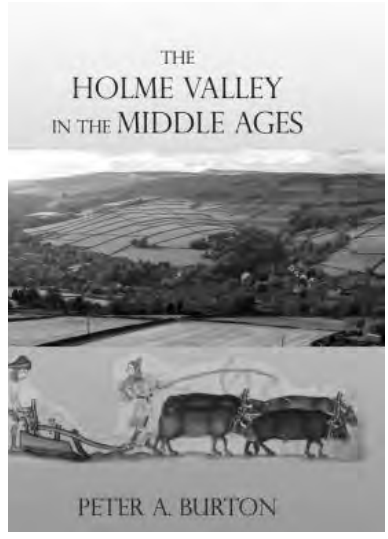
An interesting set of references to the Huddersfield branch of the Kay family is contained in the 1582 extracts from rate court records covering the period 1414 to 1560, preserved by serendipity as a result of the Duchy of Lancaster enquiry into disputed lands claimed to be held by John Ramsden. These records concern Thomas Kay the elder, merchant, and his son Thomas Kay the younger and his wife, Elizabeth and another son, Richard. The records cover the period 1520-1559, and occupy 7 pages of text. They consist of various holdings being surrendered into the courts of Almondbury and the honour of Pontefract.

Many of the seventeenth century rentals also include entries for lands belonging to the Cowper family at Edgerton, that they had already been in their possession for a long time. Also members of the extensive Armitage and Blackburn families held land in Huddersfield; as did members of the prolific Brooke family. Although these were Huddersfield families their lands were part of the manor of Almondbury, and consequently attended the manor courts, and are frequently cited in those records, and found in the many rentals of that period. Occasional citations for other Huddersfield tenants might be noted in surveys for the manor of Almondbury.

It is beyond the scope of this outline to review, even briefly, aspects of the 57 records included in this book, but many are of interest in a variety of ways, and it is hoped the book will interest historians and support further research.

Peter A. Burton, *The Holme Valley in the Middle Ages* (Holme Valley Civic Society, 2019), 135 pages, £9, paperback

Mark McCabe



Peter Burton's work aims to bring to life the medieval period of the Holme Valley. This is achieved through his analysis of the Manor of Wakefield Court Rolls from 1274 onwards. These are supplemented by the 1379 Subsidy Rolls (Poll Tax) returns combined with landscape archaeology. Beginning with a short overview of the etymology of the villages in the valley, he gives a brief history of its medieval lordships. Continuing, the book explains the political structure and the demography of the Holme Valley, discussing elected officials such as the Grave and the Forrester.[1] Interesting titbits are offered about these roles, such as some people's refusal to take up the position of Grave and the uniform of the Forrester. The complexity of trying to work out the population of the Holme Valley under investigation is interestingly explained through using the Poll Tax returns. Helpfully comparison to other local areas is provided to establish the population and the poverty of the Holme Valley, especially in comparison to Sowerby.

There is an overview of medieval settlements that form the Holme Valley and their etymology as well as an insight into the topographical location of the villages. The section on land use gives a detailed overview of what was occurring in the region. Examples are given of how common land was used, the types of crops grown, husbandry, and hunting, all of which demonstrates the variety of activity in the area. These examples are all supplemented with information from court cases on various issues such as animals trespassing and destroying crops or intriguing cases of people hunting game on land in which they should not be. The court records are illuminating for their insight into property issues and bring to life the historical characters that lived in this period.

The exploration of trades and occupations beyond agricultural works provides an insight into the range of people and activity that was occurring in the Holme Valley. Court Rolls provide lists of people whose name was based on their occupation, but also court records offer a glimpse of people's work. Although this area is more recently better known for its strength in the textile industry, this was not the case in the middle ages.

1 Both officials for the Lord of the manor. A Grave collected rent and fines from tenants. A Forrester managed a forest and would prevent illegal hunting, poaching and so on.

A variety of occupations existed as one would expect from a town, additionally there is an in depth look at the flour mills and their use as a form of lordly taxation. Furthermore, court cases provide more insight into the social make-up of the locality with stories of impoverished shoemakers and runaway soldiers. There is also speculation on the industries of iron works and coal mining, but these are somewhat limited by the evidence available.

Burton then moves on to domestic issues in a look at the life in the valley, including how significant issues affected the area with discussions on the fourteenth century climate change that caused the Great Famine and the Black Death. Excellent analysis of the court records demonstrates the impact these events had on the region, with hunger and economic collapse being two of the outcomes. After an overview of the dietary staple oatcakes, there is a look at certain criminal undertaking in the area. Burton finds the lack of violence surprising, especially in consideration to how the moderns view the medieval period as one perceived to be more violent than today. This section on life in the valley ends with a look at the roads and tracks that served the community. Much of these are still in existence today and images provide archaeological evidence of their medieval origins. Again court records are used to provide insight into the importance of these roads and the fines imposed upon those who blocked access to them.

The section on buildings is hampered by the fact there are no medieval buildings from the period still extant. Burton though gives a good overview of what houses may have been like through drawing on the excavations from Wharram Percy, the deserted medieval village. However, the section ends with intrigue about the speculation of a possible site of a castle due to the use of it as a family name.

The last section of the book deals with landscape archaeology and provides evidence of the medieval period that can be seen today. This offers descriptions of the current landscape and how it may have looked in the past. What is helpful and would interest the reader is that they can see this for themselves and gain an understanding of the continuities and the changes that have occurred in the locality.

Burton has produced a first-rate local study of the medieval Holme Valley through the analysis of a variety of sources but also drawing on other local studies to support his claims and offer comparisons. This work gives an insight into the people who populated the area and the land upon which they trod. Burton offers the hope that more work will be forthcoming with the translation of further court records. Overall, this is an accessible book that does well in explaining medieval concepts and terms to the reader, in conjunction with providing an interesting narrative. It is well written and littered with images of the Holme Valley in all its glory, which offer the reader a visual aid to the written descriptions. Hopefully, as Burton wishes, it will inspire people to take a further interest in the medieval period of the locality.

REVIEW ESSAY - IMAGINING THE LUDDITES

Georgina Hutchison, *Under the Canopy of Heaven: A Luddite Novel* (self-published, 2018), 395 pages, £12.99, paperback

John Wheatley, *Enoch`s Hammer: A Tale of the Yorkshire Luddites* (self-published, 2019), 208 pages, £6.99, paperback

Brian Van Norman, *Against the Machine: Luddites* (Guernica Editions, 2020), 412 pages, £19.99, paperback

Alan Brooke

You wait over a hundred years for a novel about the Huddersfield Luddites and then three come at once. Or almost at once. Three have recently been published, one a year since 2018. The previous one was Sykes' *Ben o'Bill's* published in several editions in the early 1900s and reprinted with a foreword by Lesley Kipling in 1988. The Luddites have featured as an episode in family sagas – Phyllis Bentley's *Inheritance* (1932) and Aileen Armitage's *Hawksmoor* (1981), where they provide some excitement and colour to otherwise uneventful stories, but add nothing new to an understanding of the Luddites themselves, or of the period in which they lived. All these three novels manage to do just that, although with the authors' individual take on the characters and events they depict.

I am eminently unqualified to review literary works, having read only a couple of dozen novels since leaving school, including two and a bit of those referring to the Luddites (the bit being *Inheritance*). One (or three) of my favourite novels is Alexander Cordell's *Rape of the Fair Country* trilogy, which vividly depicts the miners and iron workers in South Wales in the 1830s and 40s. To compare any novel of working-class life with Cordell's work would be unfair, since it means setting the bar very high indeed. In this review I will therefore not attempt to analyse the structure, characterisation and artistic merit of the novels as works of literature, but concentrate primarily on what they contribute to our understanding of the Luddites. However, the style of the books frames the way the events of 1812 are portrayed and so I must briefly mention them.

Perhaps the stylistic difference can perhaps be best understood if we imagine that they were translated to another medium. John Wheatley's book would appear as a theatre production, since most of the action happens off-stage and is related subsequently by witnesses or participants. Dialogue dominates the description, although the backdrop to some scenes is vividly described. Georgina Hutchison's work would lend itself to adaptation as a BBC historical drama series, perhaps with a screenplay by Sally Wainwright. The first chapter, and some of the following ones, begin with the final grim scenes at York Castle, around which the main narrative appears in 'flashbacks'

describing the events leading to the arrest of George Mellor and his comrades. The book is earthy and full of local detail, as well as having a foreboding inevitability as a result of this structure. Brian van Norman's book has the aura of a big budget feature film with lots of action and sweeping cinematography. Elsewhere I have described it as 'Jane Austen meets Quentin Taratino'! How then, do they use their respective styles to imagine the Luddites?

Of the three novels, Georgina's keeps closest to the known events and exhibits a detailed knowledge of the daily lives of the croppers. This is expressed in her use of dialect for some of the dialogue, which is mostly accurate yet easy to read and not so impenetrable as the conversations in Sykes' *Ben o'Bill's*, which even I, as dialect speaker, find hard going. This and the sense of place she evokes perhaps makes this the most 'local' of the books. Her interesting postscript sets out her own genealogical research, which throws light on some of the characters and their descendants. Brian, despite writing from afar (Canada) and after only a short visit to the area, still manages to capture the essential character of the time and place and helps us to look at it afresh with the eyes of an outside observer. He follows the historical events fairly closely but enhances them for dramatic effect and adds details not in the primary sources, which follows the brief of a fiction writer in engaging the reader and bringing events to life. In so doing, however, he does not destroy the core narrative. John, as I have alluded to above, does not directly describe the major events as they happened. The account of the Rawfolds Mill attack and the shooting of Horsfall are both related by witnesses after the event. This permits his particular twist to the story. Since George Mellor, William Thorpe and Thomas Smith are not specifically described as the assassins of Horsfall the question of their possible innocence is left open. A fictional love story introduced into the account makes Smith's fate particularly tragic.

Free rein for the novelists' imagination comes at its fullest where historical knowledge is at its least. Little is known of Luddite activity after the assassination of Horsfall and the big question of exactly how the state finally penetrated the organisation can only be inferred from scattered references in the Home Office correspondence. The counter-insurgency campaign, how the net tightened on the local Luddites and how the informers were induced, or coerced, to betray their oaths is dealt with very differently by the respective authors. The involvement of Ben Walker, Mellor's alleged accomplice, and Joseph Mellor, his cousin, are intricately drawn to account for the crack in Luddite solidarity, as is the intrigue and Machiavellianism of the civil and military authorities. It would be a spoiler to say any more, except Brian's account of Mellor going on the run, although fictional, is worth reading as a thrilling piece of adventure writing.

So, to my main concerns - how do the books add to our understanding of the Luddites? And do they do the Luddites justice? Georgina states at the outset that she is not out to write an apology for the Luddites – since they need none. She keeps close to the historical narrative of how stymied legal opposition to the introduction of machinery

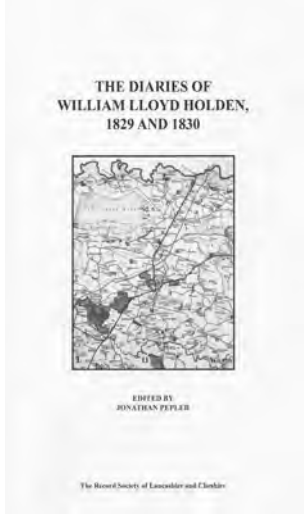
led to escalating direct action. The possibility of republican influence on the Luddites is posed by placing Mellor at a meeting addressed by John Baines at the Crispin Inn, in Halifax. The Baines link is emphasised even more by John Wheatley who places him at the centre of Luddite activity, including a meeting at the Shears Inn and the 'twisting in' of Luddite sympathisers. The extent of the political nature of Luddism is still hotly debated by historians, polarised between the E. P. Thompson view of the Luddites as part of a wider working-class movement and the M. I. Thomis view that machine breaking was separate from political conflicts. All the authors tend to the Thompson thesis. Brian is the only one to refer to the only clear piece of evidence we have of the Luddites' political involvement – the intercepted letter that Mellor wrote to Thomas Ellis from York Castle. However, he makes it a request to appeal to parliament for acquittal, rather than the declaration of support for parliamentary reform it in fact was. Brian departs from the other two writers in not giving a detailed account of the trial, but all three point to the nonchalant inadequacy of the defence, the flaws of the prosecution case and the haste of the executions. Lesley Kipling maintained that George Mellor and his comrades were probably innocent of the Horsfall assassination and that this was a triumphalistic show-trial. Certainly, by today's standards, the convictions could appear unsound.

All three novels make Mellor a complex, intelligent, sometimes conflicted, political leader and not the mindless thug some historians have portrayed. The 'one person's freedom fighter is another person's terrorist' aphorism is vividly exemplified in his portrayal. All three emphasise the rationale behind the Luddite actions. Their relevance to today is implicit, but in Brian's account it is also made explicit in George Mellor's musings on the danger of men becoming subordinate to thinking machines. For me then, the success of the novels is not in that they tell a good and mostly accurate story, but in that they contribute to the argument against the concept of the 'Luddite fallacy'. This states that the Luddites were wrong because technology led to more jobs and economic growth. But as these novels vividly show and has been explained by neo-Luddite writers, like Kirkpatrick Sale in his *Rebels Against the Future,* there was more at stake. The Luddite struggle was not only about job losses, but also about the erosion of independence, community and dignity. It was about resisting the concentration of power and wealth into relatively fewer hands. The consequences of our dependence on unfettered technology and its ill effects not only on humans, but the planet, is now all too apparent.

These three novels all contribute to the rescuing of the Luddites from the 'condescension of posterity' complained of by Thompson. Intuition and imagination are also used by historians, especially those who try to bring history to life and show its continued relevancy, but they are always kept in rein by the facts. Novelists need not have such a constraint, but nevertheless they may reveal insights that increase our understanding of both individual characters and historical processes. I will leave it to readers to judge how far they succeed in this regard.

Jonathan Peplar (ed), *The Diaries of William Lloyd Holden, 1829 and 1830* (Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol. 155, 2018). 291 pages, £30 hardback.

Christine Verguson



A publication from the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire may not seem immediately relevant to Huddersfield readers but in 1829 and 1830 William Lloyd Holden was surveying both Cheshire and the West Riding for the map publisher W. A. Bryant. While working in the West Riding he stayed for periods in Holmfirth and his walks around the area, visiting inns, churches and chapels as well as obtaining information for the West Riding map, provide us with glimpses of life in the district in the late Georgian period.

Perhaps Holden's diaries are most interesting in what they reveal about how county maps were 'surveyed' and indeed financed before the Ordnance Survey. Holden did not undertake detailed surveys but instead visited landowners and land agents to borrow estate maps and plans which he then copied and reduced. The Survey for the Inclosure of the Graveship of Holme (1828) seems to have been a particularly useful source. These visits also served another purpose, as part of Holden's job was to obtain subscriptions for Bryant's 'British Atlas' or more usually for one county.

Holden worked as a 'field surveyor' for Bryant from 1823 or 1824 and it is clear from his diary that he had previously lodged at Huddersfield's Pack Horse Inn but after a couple of nights in his 'old bed' in September 1829 he moved to Holmfirth, lodging with farmer Joseph Turner, his wife and seven children. Holden lists the occupations of Turner's five sons – James manages the farm and is also a brewer, John is a Carrier to Huddersfield, Joseph a woolstapler, William a Blue Dyer and Charles, an attorney's clerk. Holden also mentions that John was injured at Waterloo. It is clear that Holden got on well with his Holmfirth hosts which wasn't always the case. He often accompanied Joseph Turner and other family members on walks and outings, either in the course of his business or in search of entertainment and generally mentions the people he encounters. He was also curious about the places he visited, noting, for example that Holmfirth was 'a notorious place for the disaffected during the time of the "Ludites".' As a result, his diaries provide a very useful resource for family and local historians. The people Holden encounters rarely get into the history books.

Holden provides a detailed description of his social life, frequently accompanying his hosts but also making his own acquaintances while in the area. While pastimes like

playing cards are to be expected, what may be more surprising to a modern reader is the extent to which Holden goes out of his way to hear and review sermons, even to the extent of attending a funeral, but also seems to have participated enthusiastically in the meetings of the Wooldale Debating Society. Holden carried a flute and there were musical evenings which could be quite lively, leading our diarist on one occasion to conclude, 'Yorkshiremen are the most indelicate men I ever met with' even in front of women. Similar judgements occur throughout his diaries. These are the diaries of a young man – Holden was born in London in 1805 and described himself as a 'travelling batchelor' – but there appears to have been little opportunity in Yorkshire for the flirtations he enjoyed in Cheshire.

Holden makes frequent references to the landscape through which he passes and the nature of its agriculture and industry. While staying in Holmfirth he would cross Holme Moss or Saddleworth Moor to Hollingworth and Longdendale to obtain more information for his Cheshire map. And it is understandable that a man who spent so much of his time walking, often in the company of his dog Vic, would also comment on the weather. Very occasionally he did use a coach for short distances – he mentions catching the Sheffield coach and getting off at Lockwood to walk to Milnsbridge in order to copy the Thurstonland map in possession of Mr Hall, a surveyor. He made several trips to the White Hart in Hudderfield and to Birkby in search of land surveyor George Crowther. He witnessed the opening of the Liverpool to Manchester Railway on 15 September 1830.

Holden's diaries were still in possession of his family in the 1960s but turned up at a York book fair early this century and luckily the purchaser bequeathed them to the British Library. Now they have been transcribed and edited by former Cheshire County Archivist Jonathan Pepler who also provides a helpful introduction both to the diaries and the world of the county map publisher together with explanatory footnotes and a comprehensive index. The daily entries are brief, frequently entertaining and certainly accessible to the general reader. Holden's accounts for 1830, noted in his diary, are also included here. Thus, on 18 March 1831 while in Huddersfield he bought ale at the Pack Horse and brandy and water at the George Inn. On 25 March he paid 6d for a hair cut in Huddersfield but 1 shilling for gin and water at the George and Dragon in Holmfirth. In May 1830, bidding a fond farewell to the Turner family, he paid the £9 owed for his lodgings.

The diaries clearly show that, while he might have enjoyed the work, Holden was far from content in Bryant's employment. Weeks would sometimes pass before he received new instructions and the funds he had requested from Bryant. At the end of 1830 Holden decided to economise on purchasing the new Letts diary and while he continued in Bryant's employment for a few more years by 1841 he was working as a brush manufacturer. The Cheshire map was published in 1831 but the West Riding edition had not been completed by the time Bryant abandoned his project in 1835 after publishing maps for just 13 counties. While the diaries do cover at greater length the time Holden spent in Chester and in Parkgate on the Wirral, they also provide us with an opportunity to compare life in two very different places, and perhaps it is only by making such comparisons that we can appreciate the extent to which the history of our own district is in any way exceptional.

OBITUARIES AND DEATH NOTICES

Malcolm Chase (1957-2020)

Malcolm Chase, Emeritus Professor of Social History at the University of Leeds, was a regular speaker in Huddersfield and was well known to our members, many of whom will share our sadness at his passing. Malcolm's undergraduate degree was at the University of York followed by a Masters and then Doctoral study at the University of Sussex. He arrived there in the late seventies, an exciting and dynamic time for the study of social history. At Sussex his PhD was supervised by the social historian J. F. C. Harrison and he was influenced by Eileen and Stephen Yeo, all of whom shared his interest in nineteenth-century radical history. It was a period when the History Workshop Movement inspired local historians, activists and academics to explore 'history from below', an approach that remained central to Malcolm's historical practice. His first academic appointment in 1982 was in the extra-mural department at Leeds University, there he followed in the footsteps of the influential social historians E. P. Thompson and John F. C. Harrison. During this time he taught history to adult learners in various localities across the West Riding. Malcolm never lost his devotion to adult education or enthusiastic amateur historians in the West Riding as his regular appearances in Huddersfield testify.

His first book, *The People's Farm: English Radical Agrarianism, 1775-1840* (1988) was a reworking of his PhD research on the agrarian radical, Thomas Spence and his followers. It shone a fascinating new light on nineteenth century radicalism. Like E.P. Thompson and J. F. C. Harrison before him he saw the value in the lives of common people, rescuing the forgotten and overlooked and giving them agency. Malcolm's second book, *Early Trade Unionism: Fraternity, Skill and the Politics of Labour* (2000), went beyond the traditional institutional approach of labour history to look at how the experiences of semi-organised workers were far from homogenous.

Malcolm's enduring research interest was the Chartist movement which he described as the world's first civil rights movement – with more than 3 million members at its height. I remember him telling me that he had read each and every edition of the best-selling Chartist newspaper, the *Northern Star*, cover to cover, from the first issue in November 1837 to the last in April 1852. That remains quite a feat. Not surprisingly *Chartism: A New History* (2007) established him as the leading authority on Chartism. What I enjoyed most about this book was the stories or microhistories at the end of each chapter. In all ten vignettes of little known individual Chartists, each powerfully reinforcing the humanity of the movement and what being a Chartist meant for those who lived the experience. His final book *1820: Disorder and Stability in the United Kingdom* (2015) examined the political instability which followed Peterloo.

In addition to these key works Malcolm wrote countless articles and delivered talks and lectures to a wide array of audiences from academic conferences to local history events and literary festivals. My favourite talk, and later article, was about a former Chartist called R. K. Philp and his book *Enquire Within Upon Everything (1856)*, a Victorian encyclopaedia of self-help offering advice on everything from rickets to rhubarb.[1] Philp's book was a runaway publishing success, selling almost 1.3 million copies by 1900, and remained in print until 1973. Malcolm likened it to a prototype world wide web offering an answer at the flick of a page.

Malcolm's contributions to the Huddersfield Local History Society were many and varied. At our annual day school in November 2012 he delivered a talk which tackled the vexed question of why Chartism in Huddersfield was initially strong and yet faded away much sooner than the movement in neighbouring Halifax. This talk proved to be the inspiration for a collection of essays on Huddersfield Chartism which evolved over several years. Malcolm's paper "Chartism in Huddersfield, the cultural dimension" was published as a chapter in John Hargreaves, (ed.) *The Charter Our Right! Huddersfield Chartism Re-Considered* (2018).

In May 2012 Malcolm participated in the conference, 'Enoch's Hammer: The Luddites and Other Nineteenth Century Protest Movements' held at the University of Huddersfield which was part of a weekend of local history events to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Huddersfield Luddite disturbances. At this event Malcolm gave a paper on the 'Grange Moor Rising of 1820'. To mark the bicentenary of this key episode in Huddersfield's radical past the Huddersfield Local History Society reissued a revised version of Lesley Kipling and Alan Brooke's *Liberty or Death: Radicals, Republicans and Luddites, 1793-1823* (2012). This proved to be a best seller and the money raised for the Society has since been invested in a free public Luddite lecture hosted jointly each year with the University of Huddersfield. Many of our members will recall that Malcolm gave the 2nd Annual Luddite Memorial Lecture (2015) on 'York Castle and its political prisoners: the Luddites in a broader context' (the full text of which can be downloaded from the HLHS website).

Malcolm's final illness coincided with the bicentenary of the Peterloo Massacre (2019) and while his enthusiasm and knowledge of this key moment in radical history never diminished, his capacity for giving talks and attending conferences was greatly reduced. His absence was felt during the Peterloo Manchester Histories festival and we are saddened that his knowledge of the year 1820 and its attendant political crisis was not destined to be shared this year.

Representatives of the Huddersfield Local History Society were unable to attend

1 Malcolm Chase, 'An Overpowering "Itch for Writing"': R.K. Philp, John Denman and the Culture of Self-Improvement', *The English Historical Review*, April 2018, pp. 351–382

Malcolm's funeral on 20 March 2020 due to the Covid 19 outbreak. The Society would like to pass on our heartfelt condolences to his wife Shirley and daughter Sarah and for them to know just how highly we valued and admired Malcolm.

Dr Janette Martin (Malcolm's PhD student 2006-2010)

Malcolm Chase (1957-2020)

I first met Malcolm in Sheffield on 10-11 April 1987, when we held a Society for the Study of Labour History conference at the university to mark the 250th anniversary of Thomas Paine's birth. Malcolm was at our commemorative dinner on the evening of the 10th at the Rutland Hotel, when we concluded by all joining enthusiastically in a rendering of Joseph Mather's, "God save great Thomas Paine/His 'Rights of Man' explain/To every soul/He makes the blind to see/What dupes and slaves they be/And points out liberty/ From pole to pole." This first verse, and the succeeding five of 'God Save Great Thomas Paine', were sung to the tune of the national anthem! Malcolm stayed overnight at our house and the following day read a splendid paper on 'Paine, Spence and the "Real Rights of Man".' He remembered the conference in conversation some time later and told me how much he valued becoming a member of the Society because it brought friendships and comradeship that eased the isolation often experienced during archival research.

Malcolm remained a good friend and collaborator ever afterwards. I saw him regularly when he became a member of the Society for the Study of Labour History Executive Committee in 1992 and at meetings of the Chartist Group, of which he was a founder and leading light. He was a very supportive Vice-President of the Society during my period as Chair from 2001-2005, a position he took from 2006-2008. This was a period in which we again worked closely together, since I then acted as the Society Secretary.

It has been a privilege to have been associated with such an excellent person and scholar as Malcolm. It is a great pity we have lost him, since had he survived there would have been much more to come.

John Halstead

NOTICES

We were saddened to hear of the deaths of members Michael Early, Paul Rothwell and Trevor Elam. Our condolences to their families.

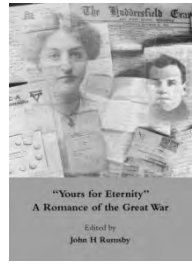
THE SOCIETY'S EARLIER PUBLICATIONS AND WHERE TO FIND THEM:

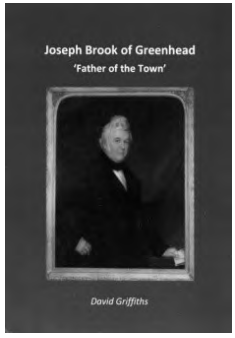
"Yours for Eternity" A Romance of the Great War

Edited by John H Rumsby

(ISBN 978 0 9509134 9 0)

£5.00 plus postage and packing





Joseph Brook of Greenhead

'Father of the Town'

By David Griffiths

(ISBN 978 0 9509134 8 3)

£6.00 plus postage and packing

Liberty or Death: Radicals,

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By Alan Brooke and Lesley Kipling

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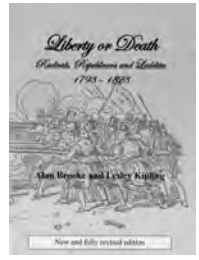
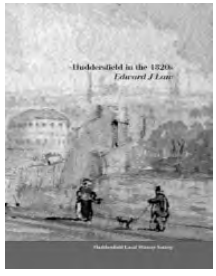
£8.00 plus postage and packing





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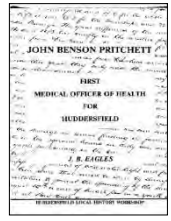

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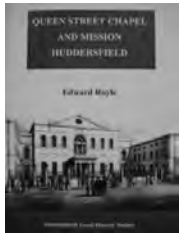

Queen Street Chapel
and Mission Huddersfield
By Edward Royle

(ISBN 0 9509134 2 1)

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Look out for the Society's bookstall, at our meetings and other local events, which also carries a wide range of local history materials from other publishers.

HUDDERSFIELD LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

WEBSITE: www.huddersfieldhistory.org.uk

EMAIL: secretary@huddersfieldhistory.org.uk

TWITTER: @HuddsLocalHist

SOCIETY OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE

Chair: CYRIL PEARCE
Tel: 01484 655970
Email: chairman@huddersfieldhistory.org.uk

Vice-Chair: BRIAN HAIGH
Tel: 01484 430666
Email: mail@brianhaigh1.plus.com

Secretary: DAVE PATTERN
Email: secretary@huddersfieldhistory.org.uk

Hon. Treasurer: STEVE CHALLENGER
Email: treasurer@huddersfieldhistory.org.uk

Publicity Officer: CHRISTINE VERGUSON
Tel: 01484 321628
Email: info@huddersfieldhistory.org.uk

Publications Secretary: DAVID GRIFFITHS
Email: publications@huddersfieldhistory.org.uk

Membership Secretary: VAL DAVIES
21 Glebe Street, Marsh, Huddersfield
HD1 4NP; Tel: 01484 315772
Email: membership@huddersfieldhistory.org.uk

Journal Editor: ROBERT PIGGOTT
Tel: 07988 271779
Email: editor@huddersfieldhistory.org.uk

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Maureen Mitchell, Bill Roberts, Stephen Caunce, Janette Martin

COMMUNICATION WITH MEMBERS

The Society appreciates that not all members are computer users and will continue to send full information about members' events by post. The Society now circulates a regular e-newsletter by email which includes up-to-date information and details of events which may be of interest to members. If you would like to receive these email communications, please email your request to the Secretary. Anybody joining the mailing list may leave at any time. You can also engage with the Society and get to know about our events and activities on Twitter by following @HuddsLocalHist and turning on Notifications.

Huddersfield Local History Society Journal
2020/2021

ISSN 2049-8403
Price £4.00